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Soviet Germany: The Unruly Satellite

by Geoffrey W. Lewis

When Germany surrendered over 8 years ago, four zones of occupation were created, one each for Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union. This was deemed a convenient way for the Allies to administer the first phases of the surrender terms. It was never intended that Germany should be permanently partitioned. Over 4 years ago Britain, France, and the United States put their zones together and enabled the Germans there to have free elections and build their own political community. The Germans in the Soviet Zone have been denied that unity and that opportunity. This division of Germany cannot be perpetuated without grave risks. For no great people will calmly accept mutilation.

—Secretary Dulles, September 17, 1953.

For some years prior to June 17, 1953, there was considerable evidence that the East German people were less happy than Communist propaganda suggested. But on that date the evidence was presented with an explosive impact that sent the Kremlin's propaganda back into the darkness whence it came. For on that date the spontaneous mass uprisings of the East German workers demonstrated, as clearly as any plebiscite, the hatred of the people for the Communist system that Soviet authority had forced upon them. As President Eisenhower said in his message of June 25 to West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer:

The latest events in East Berlin and Eastern Germany have stirred the hearts and hopes of people everywhere. This inspiring show of courage has reaffirmed our belief that years of oppression and attempted indoctrination cannot extinguish the spirit of freedom behind the Iron Curtain. It seems clear that the repercussions of these events will be felt throughout the Soviet satellite empire.

The best that the Soviets could do to account for the East Germans' extraordinary show of the "spirit of freedom" was to blame it on American provocateurs operating through misled West Berliners. But, as President Eisenhower wrote to Chancellor Adenauer on July 23: "No provocateur of any nationality can persuade human beings to stand up in front of rumbling tanks with sticks and stones. Such action comes from the heart and not from any foreign purse."

The Shaping of a "People's Democracy"

What the Soviets term a "people's democracy" does not develop from the expressed will of the people. It is a contrived thing. Its fashioning requires special tools. For East Germany's post-war reshaping, the Soviets found most useful tools of German origin that had received their final processing in the Moscow refinery. These were the old-line German Communist leaders who had found asylum in the Soviet Union after Hitler had banned their party and begun arresting its leaders. After the Russian victory over Paulus's army at Stalingrad in February 1943, the German Communist expatriates were given the task of "reeducating" their captive fellow countrymen. Well prepared for assisting the Soviets in establishing a new regime in East Germany, the wartime exiles accompanied the victorious Red army into Germany in early 1945.

Two especially prominent members of this group of German Communists were Walter Ulbricht and Wilhelm Pieck. Both had helped to found not only the German Communist Party at the end of 1919 but also its forerunner, the old Spartacus League. They returned to Germany embellished by Soviet citizenship and the uniforms of Red army colonels.

In Germany, the Moscow-trained elite were joined by those German Communists who had

survived the Nazi era underground or in concentration camps. To the Moscow-trained went the key spots in new administrative units set up in East German cities and top responsibility for organizing the war-dazed people along Soviet lines.

Schools and the young had a high priority. No time was lost in replacing the Nazi texts with Soviet-prepared ones. As far as the supply permitted, Communist teachers replaced non-Communists, and training for a new crop of teachers was begun at once.

The young, of 14 to 25, were gathered into the *Freie Deutsche Jugend* (FdJ, or Free German Youth), those of 6 to 14 into its junior branch, the Young Pioneers. This youth organization had its prototype in the Soviet Union, its counterpart in every satellite country. The Soviets have put their faith in the single, state-controlled youth organization as the most efficient means of gaining absolute domination over today's youth and tomorrow's adults.

The FdJ member, after being carefully fashioned into a tool of the state, is elevated to become the manipulator of the system that has produced him. At least that is the theory behind the Communist youth organization, which, among other things, trains its members from the age of 6 to serve as auxiliary eyes and ears for the security police, to spy and report on parents, teachers, schoolmates, neighbors, one another, and, in due time, fellow workers.

The equally "Free" German Trade Union organization and the "Democratic" German Women's organization developed soon after. In Berlin in the latter part of May 1945, well before the arrival of the Soviets' wartime allies, the first Soviet commandant of the city ordered the newly appointed municipal administration to establish the first unit of the "People's Police," Volkspolizei, to protect the new "antifascist democratic" order.

Then on June 10, 1945, also before the Western Allies reached Berlin, the Soviets authorized four German political parties: the Communist Party (KPD) and three non-Communist parties—the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), and the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP).

It was soon obvious that the licensing of the non-Communist, traditional German parties was only a propaganda gesture. The Western Allies had no sooner occupied their sectors of Berlin and begun to press for popular elections to establish a representative government for the city than the Soviets attempted to extend Communist control over the non-Communist parties.

The first proposal was for an Anti-Fascist Unity Front to be composed of all parties and coordinated by the KPD. The non-Communists flatly rejected the proposition. Then the Soviet

Military Administration without referendum forced the union of Socialists and Communists in their zone into the Socialist Unity Party (SED). In short order, terror tactics removed the able Christian Democrat and Liberal Democrat leaders from the East Zone and reduced the remaining ones to subservience. The East Zone's managers while fostering the illusion of a multiparty system had achieved the first requisite of the police state—single-party control of courts, press, radio, education, and all cultural life.

The formal establishment of the puppet "German Democratic Republic" in the East Zone followed. In 1947 the First People's Congress convened. Its delegates, hand-picked by SED leaders, were officially pronounced representative of all Germany. The second and equally "representative" Congress, meeting in 1948, drafted a constitution for the new regime and began a clamor for unification of Germany on Communist terms.

In the May 1949 election, the East Zone voter was handed a single list of SED-approved candidates. So many of the voters made use of the space inadvertently provided for a "no" vote, and in addition saw fit to scrawl anti-Communist sentiments on the ballots, that official ballot counters claimed no more than 60 percent of the poll. After that experience, the party leaders saw to it that ballots had no space to permit disagreement with the party's choice of candidates. At the same time, they made it clear that failure to cast the prepared ballot would not be overlooked. Accordingly, unanimous endorsement of the party's list has become the rule.

The structure of the puppet government followed closely that of the SED organization, and the key positions were interlocking. Wilhelm Pieck, for instance, who had been assigned the task of organizing the SED and was a cochairman of the party's Central Committee and a member of the Politburo, became President of the East German Government. An obliging figurehead, he was reelected to this office by unanimous vote of the Volkskammer (lower house of the legislative body) in October 1953. Walter Ulbricht, strong man of the party with the privilege of reporting to and taking orders from Stalin in person, Secretary General of the Central Committee, and a member of the Politburo, became Deputy Minister President of the new government in charge of youth affairs. Minister President Otto Grotewohl, on the other hand, although a cochairman of the Party Central Committee, had had little responsibility for making policy. Grotewohl had been a Social Democrat for too long to be trusted very far. He was used mostly to communicate the decisions of his superiors to the people.

The interlocking between party and government areas of responsibility continues all down the line. And all up the line, the older functionaries who lack the luster conferred by training in Moscow are being replaced by the oncoming FdJ.

ended from the start to take over as soon as they reach their majority.

Economic Problems

The painfully low standard of living of the East German people is the handiwork of the Soviet Union. Postwar Soviet economic policy in Germany was divided into two phases, the first to exploit the German economic potential for the Soviet Union, the second to make the German economy subservient to the master economic plan devised in Moscow for all satellites.

Basic to the economic distress of East Germany are three factors:

1. Soviet violation of the agreement reached at Potsdam by the Soviet Union, Britain, and the United States that Germany should be treated as an economic unit.
2. Soviet insistence upon taking reparations out of current production—also in violation of the Potsdam Agreement.
3. The forced separation of East from West Germany.

Not only did the Soviets refuse to participate in the program of the Western authorities to stop inflation, but when the latter extended the currency reform of 1948 to West Berlin, the Soviets answered with the blockade.

In the matter of reparations, the Soviets not only seized and shipped to the Soviet Union everything of value that was movable, from an electric power plant to sewing machines, but at once began taking the lion's share of current production as reparations from the East Zone. In 1945 and 1946, East Germany, once all Germany's breadbasket, was incapable of producing enough food and consumer goods to meet its own basic needs.

Interzonal trade, important to both East and West but vitally important to East Germany, has been disrupted by the separation. Predominantly agricultural East Germany has always been dependent on West Germany for bituminous coal, iron, steel, and machinery. The Soviets' emphasis upon heavy industry in the East Zone created a far greater need for those commodities, but trade between the zones has never amounted to more than about 6 percent of the prewar volume. East German authorities continue to angle for a more liberal trade program with the Federal German Republic but refuse to meet the condition that would achieve it—stopping their interference with the West Berlin economy.

In addition to these basic handicaps to East Germany's economic recovery and contributing to economic deterioration have been Communist measures to eliminate private enterprise in trade and agriculture and to get more production for less money out of the workers.

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL TRADE

To restore trade from the paralysis that bound it in 1945, the Soviet authorities at first encouraged private retail and wholesale trade and also the prewar type of democratically organized cooperatives. Before long, however, the consumer cooperatives were systematically penetrated by SED members, who, in 1947, were able to manipulate them under state control. In that position, the cooperatives enjoyed certain advantages, especially that of receiving the bulk of goods in short supply. Private trade quickly felt the pinch. Paying more and more for merchandise himself, the small dealer found that the rigidly enforced price ceilings prevented him from making enough profit to cover operating costs.

Meanwhile, as instruments of the Communist regime, the consumer cooperatives expanded spectacularly from a membership of 1.8 million in 1946 to 2.5 million in 1951 and from 5,800 outlets in 1946 to 15,000 in 1950—including 173 large department stores expropriated from private owners. In addition to selling, these cooperatives operate such production facilities as grain mills, clothing factories, chemical plants, saw mills, distilleries, and slaughterhouses. They also enjoy an exclusive license to run canteens in state-owned factories, schools, and hospitals. Until 1949 the cooperatives were free from any competition worthy of the name.

However, in early 1949 the opening of state-owned *Handels-Organisationen*, or HO stores, put a stop to further expansion of the cooperatives and dealt enfeebled private enterprise a staggering blow. The HO stores carry nonrationed luxury items unavailable elsewhere in the East Zone and also additional quantities of rationed goods, both at extremely high prices.

The HO stores are important to the East German Government since the zonal treasury derives about one-sixth of its total revenue from them in the form of an excise tax. The management nevertheless has its problems, stemming in part from the high excise tax and in part from limitations on mark-ups. Although the stores mounted up total sales of approximately 8 billion Deutsche marks—double that of the cooperatives—in 1952, they reported a loss of DM 59 million for the first 9 months of the year. They are repeatedly charged with inefficiency.

In the wholesale field, private companies became partners in the industrial supply companies and trading companies formed in 1946 to increase the flow of raw materials and industrial products within the economy. A year later elimination of private influence began with the admission of cooperatives into the system. In 1950, the state-owned German Trade Centers Commission took over the entire wholesale trade, extinguishing private enterprise. The new organization, consisting of 20 branches, each serving a different field

of industry, is frequently in disgrace and is officially berated for being less efficient than the "capitalistic" wholesale trade that it has replaced.

Contrary to Marxist-Leninist theory, as private enterprise has dwindled, less and less food, fuel, and consumer goods have reached the people. Objective analysts have laid the supply and distribution problem to the erratic functioning of the publicly owned distribution system and to the stockpiling of staple foods and consumer goods for future military needs. But at the Second Conference of the SED, held in Berlin in July 1952, the party leaders were still blaming private enterprise for the failure of goods to reach the public.

AGRICULTURE

Postwar land reform in East Germany began with the arrival of the Russians in the spring of 1945. Large estates were expropriated and cut up into small farms, which were distributed among formerly landless peasants and refugees from beyond the Oder-Neisse line.

For the first 3 years of occupation, farmers had the approval of the authorities in reestablishing their pre-Nazi type of marketing, credit, and purchasing cooperatives. But in the summer of 1948, when the Soviet economic program for Germany was going into its second phase, SED leaders began to "reorganize" the traditional German rural cooperatives out of existence. By early 1952, all activities of the original system had been concentrated in several centrally directed state-controlled institutions, and the farmer had to sell his produce to the single state-owned distributing commission or not sell it at all.

In the first 2 or 3 years of occupation, reparations were snatched informally from current production of agriculture. Soviet trucks drove to the farms, loaded up, and drove away with the bulk of the produce. Then delivery quotas were established and SED members delegated to collect them. If the harvest fell short of the quotas, the collectors made off with chickens, the family cow, or farming implements to make up the difference.

In the period of reorganization, delivery quotas rose steadily, instructions as to what farmers should plant multiplied, and independent farmers found it harder than did members of the government-approved "agricultural production cooperatives" to buy fertilizers and seeds and to get credit. However, the SED had not yet launched its all-out drive toward collectivization—a term the SED itself is careful to avoid.

The campaign to transform the structure of agriculture was part of the "Building Socialism" program launched by the Second Conference of the SED in July 1952. At that time, Secretary General Ulbricht proclaimed that the establishment of approved "agricultural production co-

operatives"—actually a form preliminary to final collectivization—was official party doctrine.

Virtually 94 percent of the farms in East Germany and roughly 70 percent of the total area of farm lands were then in the small-holding category, that is, under 20 hectares (slightly less than 2½ acres). The SED leaders committed themselves to getting these small land holders into cooperative farms on the basis of "absolutely voluntary association."

The other 6 percent of the farmers, who had larger holdings, were to be ineligible for the cooperatives and squeezed out of business. Walter Ulbricht defined a *Grossbauer* (big farmer) as one who owned 20 hectares (about 47 acres) or more of average land and hired help "for profit," adding that anyone owning less land, if it were rich enough for truck farming, was also a *Grossbauer*.

Two weeks after the SED announced the new agricultural program, the Council of Ministers, governmental counterpart to the SED Central Committee, passed a series of measures calculated to increase the desire of the small farmer to enter the Communist idea of a cooperative:

1. Machine lending stations would service the cooperatives before they served any independent farmers, charging them the lowest rates and deferring payment for services rendered in 1952 until after the 1953 harvest.

2. Scientific and veterinary aid would be furnished free to cooperatives.

3. Sufficient amounts of fertilizer and high-grade seed for 1953 were guaranteed to the cooperatives.

4. For cooperatives, the 1952 quotas of deliveries to the state of grain, potatoes, and all seeds would be reduced by 10 percent.

5. As of the day of registration, the cooperatives would be exempted from taxation for a period of 2 years.

6. The state banking institution was instructed to be liberal in granting credit to cooperatives.

7. Cooperative members would be granted a 25-percent tax reduction.

Such benefits granted exclusively to members of collective farms put the small farmer at such economic disadvantage that he had to join up or give up. The *Grossbauer* was even worse off, since he had to wait for machine service, fertilizer, and seeds until all collectivized farms and all small farmers had been served; then, if anything was left for him, he had to pay heavily for it.

Consequently, even before acceptable constitutions for the three permissible types of cooperatives were drafted in December 1952, independent farmers, especially those classed as *Grossbauer*, were fleeing to West Berlin at the rate of 200 or more daily. Knowing that they could not meet the delivery quotas and that imprisonment as political criminals awaited those who failed to de-

liver, many abandoned their farms without even gathering the harvest. This exodus of independent farmers reduced crops for the year and lowered the already miserable standard of living. Land expropriated from farmers who failed to meet quotas or taxes or who escaped to the West was transferred to the collective farms.

By the end of January 1953, 2,079 "agricultural production cooperatives" had been established and 240 more were planned.¹ The number sounds impressive; the amount of land involved was not. Only 3 percent of the East Zone's 6.1 million hectares of arable land was operated by the cooperatives. The average cooperative was rather small, consisting of about 10 farms, 17 members, and 85 hectares. Few of the "old farmers," those who had farmed all their lives like their fathers before them, wanted anything to do with the "agricultural production cooperatives." The "new farmers," those who first acquired land under the redistribution program in 1945 and others who had more recently taken to farming as tools of the SED to sell the program, have been the ones who have joined of their own volition.

Each member of a cooperative farm retains title to the land he brings in, but he can sell it only to the organization, and if he wishes to resign, or should be evicted, he cannot hold his original piece of land but—at least in theory—is given instead a piece of equivalent quality outside the collective area. Landless farm hands and others of either sex who are at least 16 years old and are uncontaminated by *Grossbauer* or bourgeois parents are eligible to membership and are allotted land that has been expropriated.

The three types of cooperatives differ chiefly in the extent to which land, animals, and equipment are pooled and in the way the net income is divided among members. In Type I, the commonest of the three, members pool only land under cultivation, retaining pastureland, woodlots, all animals, and all equipment for their individual use. Type II treats land in the same way as Type I but calls for the pooling of most draft animals and all machinery and equipment. In Type III, the members pool practically everything. This third type is closest to the collective farm of the Soviet Union.

All types operate on a planned basis that leaves nothing to the discretion of the members. They plow, fertilize, sow, cultivate, and harvest to order. Members are assigned to brigades for 3-year periods; each brigade is assigned to a specific section of the land. Individual performance is measured against established work norms. The least skilled work nets 0.8 points for the day's norm, the most skilled 2.0.

The number of work points earned annually determines largely what the individual gets out of

the net profits. Type I profits are distributed on the basis of 40 percent in relation to the amount of land brought in and 60 percent for the amount of work performed. In Type II the ratio is 30-70, and in Type III, 20-80.

The stepped-up transformation of the agricultural structure was intended to produce more food at lower cost and with less manpower, thus releasing manpower for heavy industry and military purposes. Despite all the encouragement given the "agricultural productive cooperatives," they have been slow to make efficient use of the earth they have inherited. And, at least for the time being, agriculture is hard hit by the loss of thousands of its most experienced farmers to West Germany.

The cooperatives have also been slow to show their gratitude to the party by developing Communist cells. Several months after the order went out for the establishment of a cell with at least three SED members in every cooperative, only 50 percent had such representation.

Industry and Labor

The Soviets used two methods to exploit East German industry. The first was exceedingly simple and forthright. They removed whole plants to the Soviet Union. In May and June of 1945, before their Allies reached Berlin, the Soviets removed 460 industrial plants from that city. After that they went to work on the Zone, taking up and removing to their homeland 200 chemical, paper, and textile plants and all but a single track of the railway system.

The second method, though less direct, was equally effective. They established Soviet-owned industries known as SAG's (*Sowjetische Aktiengesellschaften*) from 213 plants that they had confiscated. They then took the whole production as reparations and sold a portion of it back to the Germans at a stiff price. In addition they extracted \$700 million in subsidies from East Germany for support of the SAG's.

By the end of 1950, the Soviet Union had taken out of East Germany, according to conservative German sources, \$10.7 billion in reparations. In 1952, the Soviets returned 66 of the plants to the Germans but made them pay a handsome figure for them.

Within this framework, the SED spared no pains to duplicate the Soviet system of industrial production and wage control. As a result, the East German worker has been compelled to work harder and harder over the years in order to earn a subsistence wage. Like the Red Queen in *Through the Looking Glass*, he has had to run faster and faster in order to stay in the same place.

By the technique of fixing wages on a priority scale, the East German regime manipulates labor into heavy industry and away from production of consumer goods. Coal mining, metallurgy, ma-

¹ A report of November 1953 lists 4,800 cooperatives representing 15 percent of the agricultural land.

chine and automobile production, and Buna rubber processing pay the highest wages, consumer-goods industries the lowest.

More direct control on placement of manpower is exercised by the state employment offices. A worker who refuses one of the openings provided for his choice by this party-operated agency loses all employment rights. By narrowing the possibilities to openings in the coal mines, for instance, the regime can be sure of recruiting coal-mine workers.

Workers are divided into eight wage groups according to the difficulty of work performed, the degree of responsibility called for, and the qualifying training and skills. Within each wage group, a division is made between those who receive time wages and those who receive performance wages for meeting a work norm. Performance rates are uniformly higher than time wages within the same wage group.

According to propaganda, the workers, in their eagerness to increase production, voluntarily accept increasingly higher norms. Actually, when the regime wants to increase the norms in a given industry, it stages a performance exhibition with a "shock brigade" of young SED volunteers. In the pink of condition, fortified by bonuses already in their pockets, and working for an hour or two under ideal conditions, these good Comrades surpass themselves.

In a week or two these same superworkers turn up as foremen in the plant. Then, in shop meetings, they vote in the name of their crews to adopt the higher norm set by themselves. Thereafter their hapless crews have to meet the new norms throughout their shifts in order to get their previous wages for the remainder of the year.

Wages for an industry are allocated for the whole year. The workers who exceed their norms get more money from the fund, leaving less to be divided among the rest. The system does not breed good feeling between the mass of workers and the few who surpass themselves. In fact the overzealous worker soon discovers that he has been working against himself as well as against his fellows, because the norms are repeatedly raised to equal the capacity of the most efficient worker.

For years the East German worker was assured periodically that better times lay just ahead. If he would give his all to industry now, prosperity in the form of consumer goods and money to buy them, shorter hours, and better pay would soon be his.

The "Building Socialism" program announced in July 1952 was another postponement of the good times promised. Increased industrialization and collectivization of agriculture were in the plans, but no more food. By fall, food, fuel, and clothing were in critical shortage.

In November 1952, threat of starvation and general desperation produced scattered disturbances

throughout the Zone. In Fürstenberg an der Oder there were pitched battles, and two SED functionaries were beaten to death. In Rathenow an der Havel, where there had been no margarine for a month, 400 workers of the HO stores stormed the railway station and plundered the food cars. Small-scale riots against the food shortage took place in Leipzig, Dresden, Halle, and Suhl.

Then on February 3, 1953, the SED decided that East Germany's economic problems could be solved by embracing an even stricter regime, stating:

The second SED conference in July 1952 made the historic decision to start the systematic building of Socialism. . . . The implementation of this . . . task is only possible . . . by the constant raising of labor productivity and by the utmost economy. . . . The introduction of a strict regime of economy is not . . . a temporary measure taken as a result of an emergency; it is . . . permanent

For the worker, that meant he had nothing at all to look forward to. The carrot dangled before his nose had no substance; it was a mirage. He could count only on harder work, longer hours, and less real money to take home as the norms went on rising.

In March 1953, he listened again to promises of better living conditions. But only a few days later the party-controlled radio began to campaign for raising "obsolete" norms on the grounds that the "workers demand a change" and that the government needed a norm increase of 8 to 12 percent in all industries. *Neues Deutschland*, the official SED newspaper, tried to convince its readers that workers lacked material incentive because the current "low" norms were too regularly and easily overfulfilled.

April produced some curious rationing and price decreases that became effective on May 1. They represented the old principle of robbing Peter to pay Paul. In industrial plants with cafeteria facilities, workers' meals suddenly doubled in meat, fat, and sugar content. Simultaneously ration cards worth about 23,015 tons of meat, 10,839 tons of fats, and 13,179 tons of sugar per year were taken away from people who made their living in private business within the Zone, from East Zone residents who worked in West Berlin, and from certain others. (All in all, about 1.4 million East Germans lost their ration cards at this time.) Shoes and textiles were deregulated, and their prices were increased between 60 and 70 percent.

These measures were clearly intended to increase production by forcing the worker to work longer and harder for the same real wages and to lower demand for consumer goods by putting the price out of the average consumer's reach. In this manner, the East German Government set the stage for the announcement of the new norm increase on May 28:

. . . the Council of Ministers, with Premier Grotewohl in the chair, acted on the wish expressed by workers for

a general reexamination and increase of work norms and resolved on measures intended to coordinate work norms with the requirements of higher productivity and to reduce production costs. The measures seek to insure an average increase of at least 10 percent in the working norms by June 30, 1953. . . .

"Too Little Too Late"

In the spring of 1953, the "Building Socialism" program was draining away East German manpower at the rate of some 40,000 a month. Farmers, workers, private-business owners, intelligentsia, the clergy, youth of military age, and even youngsters of 14 to 18 were fleeing the country. A few weeks after Stalin's death, there were hints that the iron grip on East Germany might be relaxing a little.

Although the loss of manpower undoubtedly had something to do with the easing of the grip, the approaching election in West Germany was also a factor.

The Kremlin abolished the military Soviet Control Commission for Germany and appointed Vladimir Semenov civilian High Commissioner. Walter Ulbricht informed East German intelligentsia that henceforward differences of opinion would be tolerated in those who did not embrace Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Grotewohl slackened persecution of the clergy and members of the Protestant youth organization, authorized procedures to reinstate students and teachers excluded from schools and universities because of their religious affiliations, and promised to set aside harsh sentences meted out to church officials and to return confiscated church properties.

On June 9 the SED Central Committee and on June 11 the Council of Ministers announced a series of policy changes, prefacing the announcement with the refreshing admission that the rulers of the German "Democratic" Republic had made some mistakes to the detriment of the German people. The changes in policy, Premier Grotewohl explained, were designed to correct these mistakes and to hasten unification with West Germany. In fact, obviously, they were intended to make the best of a bad economic situation and to propagandize the West Germans away from acceptance of the Adenauer platform of support for the European Defense Community and integration with the West.

What the policy changes amounted to was promises: increased production of consumer goods; consolidation of existing agricultural co-operatives without development of new ones; access of private farmers to machinery and facilities previously restricted to the collective farms; access of private enterprise to credits and goods produced in state-owned plants, and arrangements for giving private enterprise more favorable terms for making up arrears in taxes and social insurance premiums; limited amnesty to persons serving jail terms for "economic" crimes; and relaxation—

to an unspecified degree—of existing prohibitions against interzonal travel.

During the same week, the SED Central Committee announced cancellation of its highly publicized and extremely unpopular plan to force 3 months of *de facto* military training on all its 18- to 30-year-old members and candidates.

These promised concessions seemed to be a hopeful sign, even though they stopped short of lightening the load of the industrial worker, for whom the "paradise" had professedly been created.

Almost from the moment that the new norm increase was decreed, there were rumblings of protest. On June 1, all workers of the Nagenia works at Chemnitz-Borna went on sit-down strike. In the "Progress" pit at Eisleben work stopped on June 4 and empty wagons blocked the way until the previous norms were restored. On June 9, some 2,000 employees at the Steel and Rolling Works in Hennigsdorf raised a protest against the norm increase. The Security Police arrested five of the number, but the workers continued the work stoppage until their fellows were released and the norm increase was cancelled. In Brandenburg, in Gotha, and in East Berlin, workers put up increasing resistance to the new norms.

On June 5 and 8, construction workers on the greatly publicized Stalinallee housing project in East Berlin received their first wages paid on the basis of the new norms. The amounts received showed that the workers were actually receiving less pay under the new system than they had before its enforcement—though they were doing more work. Wage payments of the next week underscored this fact. On June 15, the workers on this project of the "National Reconstruction Program" voted to present their case to Premier Grotewohl. SED and trade-union functionaries overruled them. Block 40 of Stalinallee promptly stopped work. Fog crews called in to unload materials from trucks were restrained by the workers. Finally a flying squad of People's Police forced the workers back to their places.

At 7 a. m. on June 16, the Stalinallee workers decided to ignore the official ruling and march to Leipziger Strasse to present their case to Grotewohl. Other workers hearing of the plan stopped work at the breakfast break and hurried to join the marchers. Their way was roundabout, leading past other building sites, at each of which workers laid down their tools and joined the demonstrators.

The People's Police watched without attempting to interfere—except for one contingent, and it was brushed aside by the workers. The demonstrators were from three to four thousand strong by the time they reached the Hall of Ministers to present their demands, *not only for cancellation of the increased norms but for free elections, reduced prices, and the resignation of the government*.

They were in no mood to listen to the mouthpieces of Grotewohl and Ulbricht, sent out to

soothe the crowd. More compelling were the spontaneous words of their own members who from time to time mounted boxes to address the throng.

By 3 o'clock, loud-speaker cars edged along processions and gatherings of workers to announce that the Council of Ministers had cancelled the new norms and to ask the workers to disperse. SED agitators sought to gain the ear of the crowd with such inspiring messages as "In the opinion of the SED Politburo, the raising of the norms may not and cannot be achieved by administrative methods, but only on a basis of voluntary conviction."

The workers' answer was a call for a general strike. RIAS (Radio in the American Sector) broadcast straight news reports of the demonstration, including the decision to call a "solidarity strike." Throughout the East Zone of Germany and in other Iron Curtain countries, oppressed people learned that East Berlin workers were defying the authority of the police state.

Disorders

On June 17, 1953, under heavy rain and against tremendous odds, the workers of East Berlin and the East Zone of Germany made history.

By tens of thousands in lesser industrial centers, by hundreds of thousands in greater ones, the workers rose up against the oppressors. They set fire to propaganda booths, to pictures of Stalin and the German puppets, and to the Soviet flag. They fired HO stores, the great Buna rubber works at Leuna, and some FDJ and SED headquarters. They sabotaged machinery and equipment in the mines and factories that operated for the benefit of the Soviet Union. They destroyed records and propaganda in party offices. They released political prisoners from local prisons and nearby concentration camps.

Until forced back by Russian armored divisions that arrived sooner or later at the trouble spots, the workers and sympathizers who joined them made the most of their time. Yet, in spite of high emotions and violent acts, the demonstrators at no time and in no place during that day made use of the firearms they stripped from People's Police who tried to oppose them or the arms that hundreds of the police tossed aside before joining the workers. Bare fists, sticks, and stones were the order of the day.

Most of the details of that day and the days that followed have become a familiar story to us. We know how martial law blanketed most of the East Zone by nightfall on June 17. We know that hundreds were killed or wounded in the course of the day's action. At least 50 are known to have been executed since then. Thousands of East Germans have been arrested, tried, and sentenced to long terms in prison for their part in the uprisings. According to recent reports from the East Zone, several thousand participants, including women

and mere children, have been seen loaded aboard trains headed for the Soviet Union. Arrests continue. So, reportedly, do sit-down strikes and work stoppages in the mines and factories of greatest value to the Soviet Union.

The SED government remains in power. A few heads have rolled, but Ulbricht and Pieck and Grotewohl are still in office, still practicing terrorism with one hand and making seemingly conciliatory gestures with the other. The agricultural program has been resumed. Arguments pointing the necessity of increasing work norms are being dinned into the workers' ears. Despite grudging release of certain foods from stockpiles by the East German Government, despite the efforts of the United States to alleviate food and clothing shortages, both food and clothing remain in critically short supply.

Impact of the Disturbances

Unquestionably, the East German revolt threw the masters in the Kremlin as well as the masters of the East German government off balance. In the Soviet cosmos there is no allowance for mass resistance to the established order. Satellites are not supposed to revolt. But this one did and, what was worse, in plain view of the free world, whose representatives in West Berlin watched the events, whose photographers had cameras with telescopic lenses to record the facts.

The use of Soviet armored divisions to quell the uprising in Berlin publicized the failure of the 8-year program of indoctrination and propaganda lavished upon the East Germans. In such emergency neither People's Police nor FDJ, favored instruments of the police state, had proved reliable. It was not enough to blame the uprisings on American "warmongers" and West German agents. There had to be scapegoats within reach. The men responsible for security had failed in their duty.

In East Berlin, the first major reorganization of the highest SED officials in 3 years got underway. Max Fechner, Minister of Justice, was ousted from the Central Committee and expelled from the party as an enemy of party and state but principally because he had expressed the opinion that the right to strike was constitutionally guaranteed. Wilhelm Zaisser, Minister for State Security, was expelled from the Central Committee, thereby losing his position in the Politburo; he was accused of having "formed a faction hostile to the party, with a defeatist attitude directed against the party's unity." Rudolf Herrastadt, editor of the party newspaper, Central Committee member, and candidate for the Politburo, was expelled on charges that he had connived with Zaisser and given aid and comfort to the rioters by publishing such views as Fechner's in the party newspaper. Three other Politburo candidates were dropped to be replaced by more reliable

timber, and two candidates were advanced to full membership. The Central Committee's Secretariat was replaced by six "secretaries," with Walter Ulbricht changing his title from Secretary General to "First Secretary."

The appointment of Hilda Benjamin as Minister of Justice and the harshness of penalties she meted out to participants in the June uprisings suggest that the Ulbricht faction purged the party of leaders who had favored a policy of leniency toward participants in the revolt and had advocated major changes in the party program.

In mid-August, the top government and party officials of East Germany were invited to Moscow. On August 23, the Kremlin released a communique and "protocol," neatly timed to impress the West German electorate with the advantage of throwing in their lot with the peace-loving "peoples' democracies" within the Soviet orbit.²

In the announcement, the Kremlin repeated once more its ideas on the procedure to be followed in negotiating a German peace treaty and establishing an all-German government, then went on to more arresting items of agreement: termination of reparations, cancellation of German post-war debts, and reduction of occupation costs. It promised economic benefits for East Germany through the return of industrial enterprises yet under Soviet operation—with the exception of the uranium mines, which should become a joint Soviet-East German concern—and through increased deliveries to Germany of Soviet raw ma-

terials. Then, for good measure, the Soviets agreed to release all German prisoners of war except those who had been sentenced for "particularly wicked" war crimes.

On the eve of the release, Malenkov, speaking at a reception for the East German comrades, reiterated the Soviet Union's desire for the reunion of East with West Germany, denounced the Adenauer administration as the heir of Hitler and German militarist traditions, and asked the German people to make their choice between war or peace, national unity or dismemberment. The West German election was only 2 weeks away.

If the Soviet Union abides by the protocol, carrying out the agreements in good faith, the economic situation in East Germany should improve. The fact remains that the Moscow conference, while producing some interesting promises, neglected the principal demands of the German workers—with the exception of the agreement to return most of the prisoners of war.

In September the West Germans showed themselves to be proof against propaganda from the East. The revolt and its aftermath had increased both yearning for reunification and faith in the Adenauer platform. The election resulted in a smashing victory for Adenauer and failure of extremist parties, whether Communist or rightist, to win a single seat in the Bundestag.

• *Mr. Lewis, author of the above article, is Acting Director of the Office of German Affairs.*

Jordan River Valley Development

by Eric Johnston

Personal Representative of the President³

From time immemorial, the Biblical waters of the Jordan have tumbled down the towering slopes of Mount Hermon in the Lebanon, paused in the Sea of Galilee, and rolled swiftly south to waste themselves in the salt depths of the Dead Sea.

The Jordan is a short silt-laden stream, plunging for most of its 200 miles through earth's deepest valley, a thousand feet below the level of the sea.

It is one of mankind's most beloved streams. It flows through the very heartlands of three great

religions as consistently as it moves across the barren geography that confines its downward course.

From the banks of the Jordan, the ancient Israelites, wearied by years of wandering in the desert, first glimpsed the Promised Land. In its turgid waters, Jesus Christ was baptized by John. Along its winding course, the Prophet Mohammed preached the word of Allah.

Yes, the River Jordan has enriched history and song but, unhappily, not the arid lands through which it flows. These noble waters have held spiritual significance for man down through the ages, but they have given him relatively little material benefit.

²For a Department statement on this announcement, see BULLETIN of Sept. 7, 1953, p. 311.

³Talk made over CBS radio on Dec. 1.

And because the life-giving blessings of these waters are so sorely needed by the suffering peoples who today inhabit this hallowed and historic region, the President of the United States, only this October, commissioned me to go there bearing a proposal—a proposal intended ultimately to make the valley of the Jordan blossom and bloom as it never has before.

When the President first asked me to undertake this mission, I suggested in my stead other Americans who, I felt, were better acquainted with the area and the situation there. But finally, with many misgivings, I followed the wishes of the President and set out for Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Israel.

Assignment Now More Urgent

I got no farther than Paris when word was received of new incidents and charges which inflamed the tensions between Arabs and Israelis and soon became the subject of United Nations Security Council discussions.

My first reaction—and I must say I did not have a second one until I had spoken with some of the leaders in the Near East—was that what little chance the mission had of succeeding in the first place was now just about gone.

It was not long, however, before I realized that though such incidents increased the difficulties of the assignment they also made it more urgent and necessary.

I am happy to say that, in my capacity as personal representative of the President of the United States, I was received with the warm hospitality traditional to the region, and I was granted a courteous and attentive hearing wherever I went.

I would like to correct a general impression that developed at the very outset. I did not go to the Near East with a plan. What I had in my brief case was a proposal.

This proposal was to urge the careful consideration of a concept, a concept which envisioned the coordinated development of the Jordan River watershed. I am pleased to report that, without exception, the statesmen of the affected countries are now studying that proposal.

Now it is true that I took with me charts and tables based on studies made by a distinguished American engineering firm working under the direction of the Tennessee Valley Authority at the behest of the United Nations, which have since been issued in the form of a report by the United Nations agency responsible for the Arab refugees from Palestine.

The report also contained suggestions for the construction of dams and power stations without regard to national frontiers or political boundaries.

But I did not ask or expect a "yes" or "no" answer from anyone in connection with these sug-

gestions. On the contrary, I did not feel that any definite reply made before careful consideration had been given to the proposal would be in order.

These studies, which themselves drew on previous research, do illustrate what can be done and how many material benefits can be showered on war victim and pioneer alike through the modern utilization of the water resources of the Jordan basin.

Thanks to 20th century engineering practices and administrative coordination, it is estimated that nearly 240,000 acres of land now idle and unproductive can be put into the richest kind of production. Most of this land, of little use or value to anyone now, would yield three crops a year, so that by American standards we may figure that in effect the equivalent of some 720,000 acres would be put to fertile work giving sustenance to hungry people, work to the idling, and new wealth and revenue to the nations involved.

What is more, in the course of parallel development more than 65,000 additional kilowatts of power would be made available to turn the wheels of societies already on the move.

Advantages to All Concerned

The proposal holds out real promise to all parties concerned. To the Arab leaders of the area, it offers a way to meet their peoples' growing demands for progress and a better life.

Mass lethargy in the Arab world is fast disappearing before the surge of new aspirations. It is a world in transition, straining at the fetters of economic feudalism, seeking opportunities which our times offer.

Arab leadership is conscious of this vast stirring of peoples long quiescent. It knows that social revolution has begun and that it must lead that revolution or be swallowed up by it.

To Israel, on the other hand, the Jordan Valley development furthers the possibilities to forge ahead with ambitious and urgent plans to wrest every possible benefit from the meager resources on which Israel must depend.

To both the Arabs and Israelis it suggests a practical way of easing an explosive issue largely responsible for so much of the tension between them, the alleviation of the plight of the Arab refugees who fled their homes in Palestine.

I truly believe that the United Nations report will contribute to the well-being of all the peoples in the Near East. I hope the development will take the form this report recommends, or something like it, but in my conversations with the leaders of the Arab states and Israel I made it clear that modifications would be welcomed.

The main thing right now, however, is general support of the principle of development of the Jordan watershed in which each of the affected states would acknowledge a responsibility as well as advance a claim. The precise nature of the

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plan finally adopted is a secondary matter so long as it is equitable, economic, and efficient.

A Realistic Hope

Now one might ask, is it realistic to hope that nations still in a state of war could be expected to participate in any coordinated development?

I think it is practical and realistic so long as the coordinating is done by some agent above reproach and beyond prejudice. I should think that the United Nations could be trusted to do a fair and effective job.

It is not a prerequisite that any of the states involved commit themselves directly or indirectly to signing an agreement with any of its neighbors or of working with them. Each country could undertake unilateral commitments to the coordinating agency, which could serve as a clearing house and a catalytic agent.

This, I might add, is part of the proposal I presented to Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Israel, and it is being given consideration by their leaders.

Other questions which could readily be raised but which can be promptly answered are: "Why can't individual states go forward alone with independent irrigation and power projects involving the waters of the Jordan and its tributaries? Couldn't the benefits of the Jordan watershed be achieved piecemeal?"

The sad facts and frightening possibilities that stare us in the face make rhetorical questions out of such queries. In the first place, even if the Arabs and the Israelis were living in neighborly harmony and sweet bliss today, there would be sure to be a rumpus over the contested waters of the Jordan. It would at best be difficult to decide who is entitled to how much.

Quarrels Over Water Rights Universal

Squabbles over riparian rights and water use are as common, and often as violent, as romantic quarrels between suitors.

In our own country, Kansans and Coloradans have tiffed over the Colorado River even when Arizonians and Californians have not. Being a Westerner myself, I am not unmindful of the disputes in the Snake River country.

The quarrels over water rights extend from the Rio Grande to the Helmand in Afghanistan and Iran—and back again, and they are usually settled only when there is some impartial authority on the ground.

It would not take much imagination to envision what would happen in the way of sabotage and even bloodshed if the waters of the Jordan were to remain unregulated indefinitely.

There is of course room for national water resource development plans by the affected states in the Jordan basin. But to get maximum benefit

and equity while avoiding violence, these, it seems to me, should be integrated within the framework of the general Jordan watershed development program.

Having spoken of the interests and the potential advantages of the Arab states and Israel in the development of the Jordan basin, my friends in the Middle East will, I know, understand if I now discuss for a moment the stake that the West has in such a program.

U. S. Interests in Area

Of course, as religious people, Americans have something more than a passing interest in any dispute raging around the Holy Land, and we have some economic and political interests in the area, too.

For one thing, the American Government is spending \$150 million a year in this area for general economic development, and in the last 4 years we have contributed \$154 million in support of the Arab refugees alone.

No one has to be on the inside in Washington these days to predict that, much as we sympathize with unfortunate people, the United States is not going to keep on spending that kind of money indefinitely. Certainly, we have a right to expect progress and improvement. Surely, it is not out of order for us to urge undertakings which will enable people to help themselves, just as, I am sure, they want to do.

Americans do not want to see communism spread and we know that human misery helps it do so. We want to combat misery, and we are on the side of anyone who feels the same way and is willing to do something about it. We are not the only freedom-loving people on earth, and we should not have the monopoly of combating Communist imperialism.

So we do have material as well as spiritual interest in the valley of the Jordan. It is a continuing interest, and for that reason I do not consider my mission ended. The President has asked me to return to the lands of the Jordan as soon as their leaders have had the opportunity to study our proposal.

As things now stand, I do think that the chances for coordinated development are much better than when I went out to the Near East a few weeks ago. I don't know whether one more journey will settle everything, but if we continue to make progress there will be real reason for optimism.

If, as I hope, the historic waters of the Jordan bring new and green life to suffering people, then I think they will be thrice blessed. They will bless him that gives and him that takes. And they will also bless men of good will everywhere who would dearly love to see misery on the run in the land that first gave life to the treasured credos of us all—Christian, Jew, and Muslim.

The Present Situation in Iran

by Henry A. Byroade

Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs¹

Iran is a land of ancient culture and tradition, in which the eloquent wisdom of poets and sages is held in the highest respect. We in the West are sometimes inclined to overstress the practical. We delight in shrewd Yankee injunctions. The Iranians, however, choose to express themselves in a more poetic fashion.

A Persian poet, Nezami, wrote the following beautiful sentences: "At times of difficulty, do not despair, for the black cloud pours forth white rain. Continue your efforts to find a way out, for many a bitter drug results in sweet remedies."

I suggest that this might almost be taken as a text for the discussions of this conference. Not all of the wisdom in sound international relationships is to be sought in immediate practical measures designed to deal with specific situations. The sensitive statesman recognizes that an atmosphere, indefinable as it might appear to be, is often more potent in achieving results than some formula of accommodation.

It will not be thought too fanciful, I hope, if I paraphrase the poet Nezami to put it that out of the black cloud of the severance of diplomatic relations between Iran and the United Kingdom white rain has descended. It was a week ago today, as you all know, that diplomatic relations between the two countries were renewed. A few months ago such a decision on the part of Iran would have been impossible. Iran was in turmoil. Constructive, ameliorating action seemed to be a matter for the remote future.

Now, from the bitter drug of the past, His Majesty the Shah and Prime Minister Zahedi are producing sweet remedies. The wisdom of the poet has become a graphic expression of official action. The new Iranian Government, although firm in its adherence to the national honor and integrity of Iran, seems to be free from the inflexible emotional commitments of the immediate past. It does not stand in fear of the exaggerated pres-

sures of organized groups, but rather is subject to legitimate public opinion. Under such circumstances, it is in its power to make careful and far-reaching decisions. I believe it safe to say that the future of Iran and of Iranian relations with the rest of the world, for the visible and even for the far future, will be largely shaped by the decisions which this government has made and will make within the next few months.

Decision means action and action inevitably creates opposition. The problems faced by Iran are massive. To any action proposed there are bound to be opponents both inside and outside the country. It may be that advocates of conflicting courses will be ready to abandon the government if it is not prepared to follow their whim. To please everyone is impossible. An attempt to do so usually results in nothing being accomplished. It may temporarily enable a government to retain power, but only at the cost of letting current problems grow more acute.

No one seems to realize this better than the present leaders of Iran. Otherwise they would certainly not have taken the step of resuming relations with the British. This action was very unpopular in some quarters. It has been vociferously denounced. But the government realized that the original cause for severing relations, the oil problem, could best be solved were the two parties involved in direct contact with each other, rather than obliged to deal through intermediaries. It therefore decided to go ahead no matter how much opposition might temporarily come from certain segments of the Iranian political scene.

Rumors have been spread to the effect that the United States brought pressure to bear on Iran, through the threat of withholding economic aid, in order to bring about resumption of relations. Let me, as one in close touch with Iranian relations, categorically deny this. It has repeatedly been stated that the United States Government will not use its influence to threaten or intimidate others. The United States did not depart from

¹ Made before the Middle East Institute Conference at Washington, D. C., on Dec. 12.

that principle in this case. It is true that we welcomed the establishment of direct official contacts between Iran and the United Kingdom. At his November 3 press conference Secretary Dulles stated that he hoped the renewed friendliness between the Iranians and the British would lead to resumption of diplomatic relations between the two governments. Likewise the Iranian Government, as Prime Minister Zahedi said in his address of December 5, saw that resumption would facilitate the settlement of existing differences and, therefore, in conjunction with Great Britain, proceeded to take the necessary steps.

Other decisions of comparable importance have yet to be made and these, too, will probably receive their share of criticism. Yet Prime Minister Zahedi and his Majesty the Shah seem ready to proceed as the need arises. Zahedi's advent to power was a repudiation of the sterile negative policies of the past. The Prime Minister has repeatedly said he would prefer to resign rather than stay in power if unable to advance the real interests of Iran. Accordingly it is reasonable to believe that the new government will act solely according to its conception of what is in the interest of the Iranian people.

New Government's Constructive Measures

Much has already been done. The Prime Minister has reported to the Iranian people that the new government is rapidly establishing law and order, that there has been some measure of success achieved in stabilizing what was less than two months ago a chaotic financial situation. Another significant step, taken by the Shah himself, was the resumption of his land distribution program whereby tenant farmers will eventually become land owners. This is highly important for Iran's stable future progress. Still further reports tell of improved working conditions for factory workers and implementation of social insurance laws.

We Americans applaud these constructive measures. More than that, we have backed our applause with additional aid, a special \$45 million grant made by President Eisenhower on September 5.² This fund is given in the hope that it will facilitate the new government's task of starting Iran on the road to progress. It has been made available in a reasonable expectation of a better future for the Iranian people, whose independence is so important in the maintenance of world peace. It is also hoped that the charting of an orderly path toward increased prosperity will lessen the attraction of the Tudeh party's cynical promises.

I am sure the Iranians look upon our aid only as a means of implementing their own efforts. They realize that eventually the bettering of conditions in Iran must be their own handiwork. An

example of recent accomplishment is the Iranian Government's program to combat malaria which for many years had afflicted large areas of Iran. Today, this century-old scourge is virtually extinguished. In this project, as in many others, our technical assistance mission was able to help by making available to the Iranians latest developments in Western research and technology.

The Iranians will have to bring to the task before them the full use of their manpower and their natural resources. Of the latter the most important is, of course, their huge reserve of oil. To settle the oil problem and once more enjoy the revenue which would result from the large-scale flow of petroleum to world markets is the most pressing need of the Iranian Government. It would greatly simplify the carrying out of its program for the welfare of the country.

This settlement, while so much desired, will be far from easy to reach. In both Iran and Great Britain the problem has its emotional and historic aspects. In addition there have been changes in the world oil situation which will affect the negotiations.

Mr. Hoover's Mission

The United States is anxious to see a settlement reached both for the benefit it would bring Iran and for the added friendliness which would result between two important countries of the free world. We stand ready at any time to offer our good offices in helping to find a solution. Herbert Hoover, Jr., Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for petroleum matters, has lately been devoting his entire attention to investigating the facts of the Iranian oil problem. As you all know, he has visited both Iran and the United Kingdom. He has been in touch with representatives of all the major and many of the smaller British and American oil companies. He has not been empowered to negotiate, nor has he proposed to either side any full and final solution. He represents the United States interest in bringing about an early settlement to the dispute, but he is guided by the principle that we will avoid any unwanted interference.

A solution to this problem will not mean the beginning of paradise on earth for Iran. The deserts will not bloom in Kerman nor the melons grow bigger in Isfahan the day oil begins to flow in Ahadan. But it can be the beginning of a new era of constructive achievement. The revenues which the nation will receive from its oil sales, together with the hard work of its leaders and citizens, can play an important role in increasing the well-being of Iran and the rest of the Middle East. A wise decision now by their elders will give the youth of Iran wider horizons looking toward renewed glory and progress for their ancient land.

It is not too much to say that Iran is once again a focus of world interest. Our own particular

² BULLETIN of Sept. 14, 1953, p. 350.

concern is reflected by the recent visit of Vice President Nixon which has just ended. The Vice President has expressed his appreciation for the warm welcome he received and for the opportunity which was given him for a first hand look at Iran. We hope that his trip will lead to a greater mutual understanding, on our part, of the hopes of the Iranian people and of the magnitude of the task to which they are now devoting their efforts, and, on their part, a fuller realization of the desire of America to assist the Iranian people in all feasible and practical ways.

The temptation to offer specific suggestions is strong. But while we are, of course, interested in the decisions Prime Minister Zahedi will make, we are in no sense prepared to bear down upon him with some inflexible program that would meet the exclusive desires of the United States. It will be for Mr. Zahedi, under the guidance of the Shah, to decide what actions are for the good of the Iranian nation. I would far rather see him proceed according to the sincere convictions of his heart and mind than take with reluctance one or another step for the purpose of pleasing the United States or some other government, much less of some clique or faction within Iran.

As Secretary Dulles said last week:

Indeed, we do not want weak or subservient allies. Our friends and allies are dependable just because they are unwilling to be anyone's satellites. They will freely sacrifice much in a common effort. But they will no more be subservient to the United States than they will be subservient to Soviet Russia.

Let us be thankful that they are that way and that there still survives so much rugged determination to be free. If that were not so, we would be isolated in the world and in mortal peril.

During the coming years we hope to witness the continuance of Iran's traditional determination to remain free. We are impressed with the new government's stated intention not to bow to expediency as a means of remaining in power. Only decisions made with the enduring national interest at heart, and after a realistic appraisal of the obstacles and of the chances of failure or success, can set a true course toward the goal of national independence and survival.

The Middle East Institute is to be congratulated for its efforts in organizing this important meeting and Georgetown University for the loan of its facilities. I share the hope of all here that these discussions will lead to a more informed understanding of the present situation in Iran at a time when it is of such vital national and international interest.

You will permit me, perhaps, to close as I began, with a quotation from a Persian poet whose thoughts are living legacies in the lives of all Iranians, the master poet, Ferdowsi. He wrote: "Only he who walks will reach his destination; only he who endeavors will attain happiness."

We are all walking together in this perilous world toward the goal of a prosperous, peaceful

future. I like to think that Iran and the United States, each pursuing its separate national course, are walking side by side. God grant that these two great peoples reach their common destination.

President Endorses Program of Pan American Medical Group

White House press release dated December 12

The following letter was given by the President to Dr. Joseph J. Eller, executive director of the Pan American Medical Association, when he and other officers of the Association visited the White House on December 12:

DEAR DOCTOR ELLER:

It was indeed a pleasure for me today to meet with the distinguished physicians representing the Pan American Medical Association, and I am happy to send my warm greetings to the members who will participate in the forthcoming Ninth Inter-American Medical Cruise Congress to be held this January aboard the S. S. *Nieuw Amsterdam* and in Caracas, Venezuela; Ciudad Trujillo, Dominican Republic; St. Thomas, Virgin Islands; San Juan, Puerto Rico and Havana, Cuba.

I am profoundly interested in the expansion of the Association's scholarship program, to the end that the level of professional skill may be raised. Moreover, the program you have pursued during the past twenty-six years of interchanging medical knowledge and friendship among the doctors of this hemisphere and which carries out your credo, "The practice of medicine has no national, racial or religious boundaries," certainly promotes understanding and cooperation among the American nations.

You and your colleagues in the Pan American Medical Association may be assured of my support in these endeavors.

Assignment of Ambassador Lodge During General Assembly Recess

The White House announced on December 14 that, during the present recess of the General Assembly of the United Nations, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., will serve as special adviser to the President on United Nations and other matters. Ambassador Lodge will have an office in the Executive Office of the President. He will continue his United Nations duties and will attend meetings of the Security Council and any other sessions that may be held.

President Sends Message to International Peasant Union

White House press release dated December 16

The President on December 16 sent the following message addressed to Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, president of the International Peasant Union, in New York City:

To all participating in the International Peasant Union Forum, I am happy to send greetings.

I hope that your study of agriculture as practiced under communistic dictatorships receives wide attention. Few areas of human endeavor are so fundamental to the political stability and economy of nations as agriculture. The difficulties that communism's leaders are experiencing in forcing collectivization and political regimentation upon the great peasant populations of Eastern Europe are therefore especially significant.

In examining this situation you are performing an important service to the free world. You have my best wishes for the success of your deliberations.

Fissionable Material Defined

Statement by the President

White House press release dated December 15

On September 6, 1939, January 8, 1943, and July 24, 1950, Presidential directives were issued requesting all enforcement officers, both Federal and State, to report promptly all information relating to espionage, sabotage, subversive activities and related matters to the nearest field representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is charged with investigating all violations of the Atomic Energy Act, including the illegal export or import of fissionable material, the illegal possession or transportation of fissionable material, and the illegal production, transfer, or possession of any equipment or device utilizing fissionable material or atomic energy as a military weapon. "Fissionable material" means plutonium, uranium-235, or other material which the Atomic Energy Commission has determined to be capable of releasing substantial quantities of energy through nuclear chain reaction. I am requesting that all enforcement officers, both Federal and State, report all information relating to violations of the Atomic Energy Act to the nearest field representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

I suggest that all patriotic organizations and individuals likewise report all such information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the same manner.

Italian Banknotes Being Withdrawn

Press release 654 dated December 7

The Italian Government has informed the Department of State that the following types of Italian banknotes are being withdrawn from circulation and are no longer legal tender: (a) So-called "temporary government notes" issued in denominations of 5,000 and 10,000 liras; (b) 500 and 1,000 lira notes, except those of the "1946 type" issued by the Bank of Italy from March 1, 1951, under a decree of March 15, 1947; (c) 50 and 100 lira notes of the "1944 type."

The 5,000 and 10,000 lira notes when held outside of Italy are not eligible for conversion, their export from Italy having been prohibited. The other types, however, will be exchanged until June 30, 1954, at par for valid notes, or, at the option of the holder, for credit to an account which may be drawn upon to cover certain expenditures in Italy. Persons desiring to effect an exchange or to obtain additional information concerning this matter should communicate with the nearest Italian consulate.

New Members of Board of Foreign Scholarships

Press release 658 dated December 11

U.S. Commissioner of Education Samuel Miller Brownell and Philip Willkie, son of the late Wendell Willkie, on December 11 were sworn in as members of the Board of Foreign Scholarships. Commissioned by President Eisenhower, Mr. Brownell and Mr. Willkie joined the other members of the Board at their December 11 meeting. The Board of Foreign Scholarships is responsible for supervising the exchange program under the Fulbright Act and for selecting all persons who receive awards under this act. Since the program began in 1948, more than 13,000 persons have been exchanged, of whom 6,080 have been Americans.

Mr. Brownell, a native Nebraskan and graduate of the University of Nebraska and Yale University, has served in many educational posts. From 1947 until his recent appointment as Commissioner of Education, he was president of New Haven State Teachers College.

Mr. Willkie, a representative to the Indiana legislature since 1949, also practices law in his native town of Rushville and is vice president and director of the Rushville National Bank. In 1951 he served as chief counsel of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Morals and Ethics of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

A Review of the Problem of Missing Prisoners of War

*Statement by James F. Byrnes
U. S. Representative to the General Assembly¹*

U.S. delegation press release dated December 1

Of all the problems to come before this Committee or before the whole General Assembly, the failure of some governments to repatriate the prisoners of war of World War II is one of the most tragic. Here is indeed a shocking example of "man's inhumanity to man."

Prisoners of war are not booty of war to be held and used by the capturing power. Prisoners of war are not so many cattle to be shipped off in freight cars to remote territories. Prisoners of war are human beings, and international law has long prescribed a standard of treatment for them.

During the period I served as Secretary of State of the United States, nothing affected me more deeply than this tragic problem of the missing prisoners. I realized that it was not only the lives and happiness of the prisoners that were involved but also the lives and happiness of their families.

If there is any problem that should shock the conscience of mankind, if there is any agenda item that more deserves the full spotlight of public opinion in the United Nations, it is this one.

More than 8 years have passed since the end of hostilities of the Second World War. Despite all the attempts to resolve this tragic situation, the evidence shows that there are hundreds of thousands of prisoners of the Second World War who are not yet repatriated or otherwise accounted for by the Soviet Union and Soviet bloc countries. There are hundreds of thousands of people who are still living in the hideous state of uncertainty as to whether their husbands, fathers, and brothers are alive or dead. The representatives of Germany, Italy, and Japan have told us—in statements which impressed me deeply, particularly by their restraint and moderation—how much it would mean to their people merely to have lists of names of prisoners, whether living or dead.

We owe it to all of the unfortunate missing individuals and their relatives to continue our

efforts toward a solution of this problem. These people are counting upon our action, upon our influence, and upon the weight of world public opinion, for relief from the anguish they have suffered far too long.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the right to reply later to the false charges that have been made against the United States by the representative of Byelorussia and which I presume will be repeated several times during the debate by certain other representatives. At this time, I should like to review briefly the history of this problem from its inception. By reviewing what we have done, perhaps we will see better what remains to be done. It would be worthwhile reviewing this history if only to help us keep in mind those tragic figures who have been lost in the darkness of prisons and labor camps.

Let us first examine the international obligations as they relate to repatriating and accounting for prisoners of war. Let us look at the specific agreements on this question entered into at the close of hostilities. And then let us review the extent of the failure of the Soviet Union to adhere to these international obligations and agreements.

International Obligations Relating to Prisoners

Under generally accepted principles of international law, developed over the years through practice, custom, usage, and the conclusion of specific conventions, governments have definite obligations regarding prisoners of war under their control, in particular, with regard to release, repatriation, and accounting. These obligations have been set forth in a number of conventions, like the Hague Convention of 1907 and the Geneva Conventions of 1929 and 1949.

I will not discuss in detail the provisions of these conventions. It is enough to say here, first, that the standards and procedures for international conduct as reflected in the 1949 convention by 61 signatories, including the Soviet Union, provide that a plan of release and repatriation shall be es-

¹ Made on Dec. 1 in Committee III (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural).

tailed and executed without delay after the cessation of active hostilities. Under such a plan the prisoner of war must be afforded an unrestricted opportunity of repatriation, consistent with the humanitarian objectives of the convention.

Second, as to accounting, the 1949 convention requires that information regarding captures, illness, and deaths of prisoners shall be immediately reported to the home countries.

Thus, the failure to adopt and carry out a plan and also the failure fully to account for all prisoners of war taken in the course of hostilities constitute serious violations of international law.

Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that, after the end of World War II, specific agreements were reached concerning the repatriation of German and Japanese prisoners of war.

During 1946 we urged all Allied Governments to repatriate their prisoners of war. No agreement was reached. However, on April 23, 1947, at the Moscow conference, the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union agreed that "German prisoners of war located in the territory of the Allied Powers and in all other territories will be returned to Germany by December 31, 1948."

The Foreign Ministers also agreed that the repatriation of these prisoners would be carried out in accordance with a plan to be worked out by the Allied Control Council not later than July 1, 1947.

Let us turn now to agreements relating to the Japanese prisoners of war.

At the Potsdam Conference in 1945, the Allied Powers issued a "Proclamation Defining Terms of Japanese Surrender." Under paragraph 9 of this proclamation, it was agreed that "the Japanese military forces, after being completely disarmed, shall be permitted to return to their homes with the opportunity to lead peaceful and productive lives."

When the Soviet Government entered the war with Japan, it announced its adherence to this Potsdam Proclamation. The purpose of the declaration as to military forces was to encourage the Japanese Government to surrender. The Japanese Government relied upon our good faith and surrendered. It became then, and is now, the solemn duty of the Allied Governments to do everything in their power to see that the promises made in the Potsdam Proclamation are redeemed.

In December 1946, a specific agreement was concluded between the Soviet member of the Allied Council for Japan and the representative of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. This agreement is too lengthy to describe in detail here, but the essential point is that it established the rate of repatriation of Japanese prisoners of war and civilians from the territory of the Soviet Union and territories under its control at 50,000 persons a month. Under this agreement, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers

undertook to furnish the necessary transportation facilities.

Mr. Chairman, all the governments concerned, with one exception, lived up to these specific agreements which I have related to you. The Soviet Union chose to ignore its obligations and agreements, despite repeated representation made by my Government and others.

German Prisoners Held by U. S. S. R.

In spite of the Moscow agreement in 1947, providing a plan for the repatriation of German prisoners, for nearly a year the representatives of the Soviets in the Allied Control Council merely repeated, on numerous occasions, that all German prisoners of war in Soviet custody would be repatriated by the agreed date, that is, by December 31, 1948.

On September 23, 1948, the United States Embassy in Moscow sent a note to the Soviet Government asking for up-to-date information on the number of German prisoners repatriated from the Soviet Union, the number still in custody, and the scheduled monthly rate of repatriation to the end of December 1948. This note was completely ignored, as were earlier notes requesting information about prisoners who had died while in Soviet custody.

When December 1948 had passed, and in view of clear evidence that the Soviet Union had not lived up to the Moscow agreement the Governments of the United States, United Kingdom, and France addressed notes to the Soviet Government. In these notes, dated January 3, 1949, the three governments again requested data on the Soviet Union's repatriation plan and renewed appeals for information on prisoners of war and deaths of prisoners under Soviet custody. Each of the three governments recalled that they had honored their commitments under the Moscow agreement.

The Soviet Union, in its reply of January 24, 1949, ignored the requests but admitted it had violated the Moscow agreement of April 1947 by announcing that the repatriation of the remaining prisoners under its control would be completed during 1949.

Despite this Soviet commitment all the evidence available at the beginning of 1950 showed that large numbers of German prisoners known to have been in Soviet custody had not yet been returned to their homes or otherwise accounted for. But, on May 4, 1950, came the shocking announcement in the newspaper Tass that the repatriation of German prisoners of war was "completely finished," with the exception of only 13,546 persons, including, according to Tass, 9,717 persons convicted of grave war crimes, 3,815 whose war crimes were under investigation, and 14 persons detained owing to illness.

This announcement caused consternation and sorrow throughout Germany. On May 5, 1950, the

Bundestag of the Federal Republic of Germany adopted a resolution rejecting the TASS assertion.

The Governments of the United States, United Kingdom, and France on July 14, 1950, addressed notes to the Soviet Government denying the validity of the TASS figures. They requested the Soviet Government to furnish full information on the 13,546 Germans it admitted holding, but concerning whom no names or any other particulars had been forthcoming.

The three governments repeated the request for information on prisoners of war who had died in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government was also asked to permit an investigation in its territory by an impartial international body in order that the actual fate of prisoners known to have been in Soviet custody might be ascertained.

In its reply to this note, delayed until September 30, 1950, the Soviet Union merely reiterated the TASS figures of May 4, 1950. The request for information and the suggestion of an impartial investigation went completely ignored.

Our request for an impartial investigation was a reasonable one in view of the fact that in June 1945, when Harry Hopkins was in Moscow, he reported to President Truman that Generalissimo Stalin stated they held about 2,000,000 prisoners of war, of whom about 1,700,000 were Germans.

The Japanese Prisoner Problem

Mr. Chairman, it is the same unhappy story in the case of Japanese prisoners of war held by the Soviet Union.

In September 1945, when the Council of Foreign Ministers met in London, Mr. Molotov came to see me. He complained about the way the Japanese Army was being demobilized. He said it was dangerous merely to disarm the Japanese and send them home; they should be held as prisoners of war. We should, he said, do what the Red army was doing with the Japanese it had taken in Manchuria—make them work.

I pointed out to him the language of the Potsdam Proclamation. I told him we would hold those suspected of war crimes but we would not hold prisoners to work for us.

Transportation difficulties delayed the return of many of the Japanese prisoners but 6 months later they had been returned. Not long after the conclusion of the December 1946 agreement, it became evident that the Soviet Union had no intention of living up to its undertaking to repatriate Japanese prisoners at the rate of 50,000 persons a month. After May 1947, the rate of repatriation from the Soviet Union and Soviet controlled areas never reached the 50,000 figure.

The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers offered to expedite the repatriation by providing facilities to take care of up to 160,000 persons a month, but the Soviet Union ignored this offer. It refused to provide information as to numbers,

names, or places of detention of prisoners in its custody. It failed to answer requests for death certificates or to give even lists of the dead.

The Allied Council for Japan considered the problem at six different sessions, from December 21, 1949, to March 1, 1950. The representatives of the Soviet Union walked out of three of these sessions and refused to attend the other three.

On December 30, 1949, the United States Government sent a note to the Soviet Government requesting that the latter agree to the designation of some humanitarian organization to make a complete survey at firsthand to determine exact information on the Japanese detained in areas under Soviet control since the cessation of hostilities. On January 4, 1950, the Australian Government sent a similar note to the Soviet Government.

It was not until 7 months later, on July 16, 1950, to be exact, that the United States Government received a reply from the Soviet Government. The reply stated that the problem had been fully exhausted. It completely disregarded the suggestion of an impartial investigation and merely enclosed two TASS statements of April 22 and June 9, 1950, which claimed that the repatriation of Japanese war prisoners from the U.S.S.R. had been completed in full with the exception of 2,467 persons.

According to the TASS statements, these included 1,487 war prisoners sentenced or under investigation for war crimes, 9 war prisoners subject to repatriation after completion of medical treatment, and 971 prisoners who had committed serious crimes against the Chinese people and had been placed at the disposal of the Chinese Communist regime. The Soviet Union failed to reveal the names or any other particulars as to any of these persons.

These TASS announcements, like the TASS announcement relating to the repatriation of German prisoners of war, were entirely contradictory to the evidence that there still remained a vast number of prisoners unrepatriated or unaccounted for by the Soviet Union.

On May 2, 1950, the Japanese Diet adopted a resolution asking the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers to appeal to the United Nations to take all possible measures to bring about the return of Japanese nationals still under Soviet control and to obtain a proper accounting of those who had died or been detained in connection with alleged war crimes, or because of illness.

It was under these circumstances that the Governments of Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States submitted this question to the General Assembly 3 years ago. We hoped that where we had failed in our efforts to bring about a satisfactory solution to this tragic problem the United Nations might succeed.

I might add here that this problem did not, of course, concern only German and Japanese prisoners of war under Soviet control. Thousands of

prisoners of war of other nationalities who had fallen into Soviet custody were also involved.

For example, according to the Italian Government, many thousands of Italian prisoners remained unaccounted for by the Soviet Union. Repeated Italian diplomatic representations for information have met with the cold reply that no Italian prisoners remained in the Soviet Union. This is in violation of international obligations undertaken with regard to Italian prisoners. In the treaty of peace with Italy, signed on February 10, 1947, a number of powers, including the Soviet Union, agreed as follows, and I quote: "Italian prisoners of war shall be repatriated as soon as possible in accordance with arrangements agreed upon by the individual powers detaining them and Italy."

The Austrian Government, to cite another example, had reported that thousands of Austrian citizens were missing in Soviet territory, but no official information about them had ever been received from the Soviet Union. Appeals by the Austrians for information on prisoners who had died and been buried in the Soviet Union had gone unanswered.

We are all familiar with the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on December 14, 1950. This resolution called upon all governments still holding prisoners taken in the course of the Second World War to act in conformity with the recognized standards of international conduct and with conventions and specific agreements regarding the repatriation of prisoners of war. It asked governments to furnish the Secretary-General with the names and particulars on prisoners still held by them and prisoners who had died while under their control.

The resolution provided for a Commission consisting of three qualified and impartial persons with a view to settling the question of prisoners of war in a purely humanitarian spirit and on terms acceptable to all the governments concerned.

This Commission was asked to examine and evaluate the information furnished by governments to the Secretary-General, and to collect additional data if required. The Assembly appealed to all governments and authorities to give the Commission their full cooperation.

Commission on Prisoners of War Established

The members of the *Ad Hoc* Commission were appointed in 1951. The members of this body, Judge Guererro, Countess Bernadotte, and Judge Aung Khine, went about their difficult work with admirable perseverance. We owe them a sincere expression of gratitude.

The Commission has examined the information submitted to the Secretary-General. It has addressed requests for information to many Governments, and has held direct consultation with Gov-

ernments closely involved. As a result, it has received a great deal of valuable information.

Unfortunately, however, the Commission, despite the best efforts, has not obtained the cooperation of all governments. The Soviet Union has shown the same contempt for the appeals of this Commission as it exhibited toward the many diplomatic representations previously made by my Government and by other governments.

Let us look at the record. The Commission invited 11 governments to attend its second session, held in January 1952. All these governments, with the single exception of the Soviet Union, designated representatives to attend.

The same 11 governments were invited to the Commission's third session, in August 1952, and to its fourth session, in August 1953. Again every invited government but the Soviet Union named representatives or observers to these meetings.

At each of these sessions, German, Japanese, and Italian representatives made available to the Commission information on prisoners of war still unrepatriated or unaccounted for by the Soviet Union. This information was based on careful investigations, on interviews of repatriated former prisoners or of relatives of prisoners, and on correspondence from prisoners.

The representatives of Germany, Japan, and Italy pleaded time and time again for the Soviet Union to examine the data available. Unfortunately, however, the latter was unwilling to send representatives and these pleas to the Soviet Union went unheard.

The record of the Soviet Union with regard to written requests for information from the Secretary-General and from the Commission is no better. Let us look at the facts on this score.

Pursuant to the General Assembly's 1950 resolution, the Secretary-General requested governments to identify prisoners still in their custody, give the names of prisoners who had died while under their control, and to give full particulars as to these persons. The Soviet Union, however, did not submit one name, or any other detail requested.

The Chairman of the Commission, in a letter of August 8, 1951, informed the Government of the Soviet Union of the essentially humanitarian purposes of the Commission and solicited its cooperation, again without any results.

On February 9, 1952, the Commission addressed a special request to the Government of the Soviet Union for information on prisoners who had died in its custody. This letter was also ignored.

On April 18 of the same year the Commission asked a number of governments for detailed information concerning prisoners charged with war crimes and still detained in connection with war crimes. This communication was answered by every government to which it was addressed with the single exception of the Soviet Union.

Is it any wonder that the Commission has described the Soviet Union's attitude as "the main

obstacle through which its best efforts have been frustrated"?

Mr. Chairman, the Commission has not been engaged in a political inquiry. It has not asked anything unreasonable of the Soviet Union. It has only asked that it supply information on prisoners in accordance with recognized standards of international conduct and as required by the most elementary humanitarian considerations.

It is difficult for us to understand why the Soviet Union has wanted to keep to itself the facts on prisoners still under its control, even on those it asserts it has held in connection with alleged war crimes or because of illness. Why would the Soviet Union refuse to furnish full information on prisoners who had died while under its custody? Why should it wish to withhold this information, and continue to keep thousand of relatives in the dark as to the fate of their fathers, sons, and brothers?

If, as the Soviet Union claims, the evidence presented to the Commission is untrue, why did the Soviet leaders refuse the opportunity to appear before the Commission and give an explanation?

According to the Commission's Report,² there are others besides the Soviet Union which, unfortunately, have failed to give the Commission any assistance whatsoever. The Chairman of the Commission last year asked the Chinese Communists to transmit all possible information concerning Japanese detained on the Chinese mainland. The Chinese Communists ignored this request completely.

Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other Soviet bloc countries in Eastern Europe have likewise entirely disregarded the Commission's requests for information. These countries could have been of invaluable help in the effort to ascertain the whereabouts or fate of individuals from Germany and elsewhere believed to be under their control.

Evidence Concerning Prisoners in U.S.S.R.

Mr. Chairman, it is not merely statistics which have been supplied to the Commission. The German, Japanese, and Italian representatives have supplied names of prisoners known to have been in the custody of the Soviet Union and other countries. They have shown the Commission letters from prisoners and affidavits from repatriates. They have prepared maps showing the location of prisoner and labor camps scattered throughout the Soviet Union where prisoners are being or have been detained. We all know the names of many of these camps.

The German delegate to the fourth session of the Commission held last August submitted documentation which filled no less than 19 volumes. One of these volumes is of particular importance. It contains the names of 102,958 German nationals

who have been identified as prisoners of war within Soviet territory during the years 1945 to 1953 but who, at the time of the fourth session, had not been returned or otherwise accounted for. These names were obtained by letters from the individuals themselves or by concurring statements of two or more repatriates.

The German delegation also submitted names of approximately 1,200,000 missing German soldiers. The German Government, through extensive interrogation of repatriates, has concluded that many of these missing soldiers have, in fact, fallen into captivity.

In addition, documentation was submitted on German civilian deportees in the Soviet Union and on German prisoners in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and German territories under provisional Polish administration. The German delegate reported that investigations show that at least 750,000 German civilians, including women and children, were deported by the Soviets into the Soviet Union, and that over 130,000 of them are assumed to be alive.

Now what about the evidence presented to the Commission by the Japanese Government? The Japanese representative reported to the fourth session that the Chinese Communists had finally permitted the repatriation of a portion of the Japanese nationals they have detained, and that this repatriation was in progress. However, he said that, as of August 1, 1953, 85,045 was the total number of unrepatriated and unaccounted for Japanese in the areas under the control of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist regime. Reports from families of the prisoners and from repatriates, and letters received directly from prisoners, gave evidence that of this number, 56,042 were still alive, that 12,407 were presumably alive at the end of the war, and that 16,596 were presumably dead on the basis of unconfirmed information.

The Japanese representative reported that this figure of some 85,000 was exclusive of 246,009 Japanese who were confirmed as dead as of August 1, 1953, and whose names were known to the Government of Japan. The Soviet Union and the Chinese Communists, however, have failed to furnish death certificates.

The Italian Government has also submitted information to the Commission concerning Italian prisoners of war. Its representatives have informed the Commission that there are over 60,000 Italian prisoners who have not been accounted for by the Soviet Union since the end of World War II. The Italian representatives have furnished the Commission with the names of missing prisoners whose existence in the Soviet Union has been ascertained through correspondence and witness reports.

I have dealt here with some of the information which German, Japanese, and Italian representatives have submitted to the Commission. But let

² U. N. doc. A/2482.

us not forget that other countries have records which show that the Soviet Union should properly account for a number of their nationals too.

Mr. Chairman, my Government is, of course, aware of the recent repatriation of a number of World War II prisoners from the Soviet Union. We have all heard of the agreement of last August between the Soviet Government and the authorities of the Soviet Zone of occupation in Germany under which the former agreed to release some German prisoners allegedly sentenced for crimes committed during the war.

We are pleased to learn that, since September 1, a number of German prisoners have, in fact, been repatriated. And we note that certain prisoners from other countries in Europe have also been allowed to return to their homes recently from the Soviet Union.

We are glad to learn that the present negotiations between the Japanese Red Cross and Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies for the repatriation of Japanese prisoners seem to be leading to fruitful results. We cannot but rejoice at the return of each single prisoner who is finally permitted to return to his home.

Proper Accounting Required

However, we must not let these recent events obscure the basic fact that the Soviet Union still clings tenaciously to its claim that it has been holding only a few thousand prisoners in connection with alleged war crimes or on the ground of illness. The number it admits to holding is many times smaller than the total number for which a proper accounting is required and long overdue. If the Soviet Union chooses to make a genuine effort to solve this tragic problem, it must go far beyond the return of the few thousand prisoners whom it has admitted holding all along. It must fully account for hundreds of thousands of other prisoners as well. It must let the world know what happened to these prisoners.

With a view to reaching a final and satisfactory solution to this whole problem, our delegation is happy to join the delegations of Australia, Brazil, Thailand, and the United Kingdom in sponsoring the draft resolution contained in document A/C.3/L.397.³ Under this resolution, this Assembly would once more appeal to all governments and authorities which continue to hold prisoners of World War II to act in conformity with the recognized standards of international conduct and with the specific agreements and conventions which require that all prisoners should be given an unrestricted opportunity of repatriation with the least possible delay upon the cessation of active hostilities.

³A revised draft (see below) was approved by the Committee on Dec. 3 by a vote of 44-5 (Soviet bloc)-5 and by the full Assembly on Dec. 7 by a vote of 46-5-6.

We would also, by this resolution, continue the *Ad Hoc* Commission. In the opinion of our delegation, this Commission continues to offer the best hope for the obtainment of a full accounting of prisoners of war. The Commission is considered by thousands of affected families whose relatives are not yet accounted for as their last resort, their last hope. And it has become an important expression of the continuing and grave concern which all decent people feel for the hundreds of thousands of unfortunate individuals who are the victims of a very tragic situation.

Finally, and this is of vital importance, we would, under the draft resolution, make an urgent appeal to all governments and authorities which have not already done so to cooperate with the Commission, to supply the information requested by it, and to grant right of access to areas in which such prisoners are detained.

In the view of our delegation it is essential that this Assembly maintain its interest in this problem until a satisfactory solution is reached. It is our obligation to the international community to continue the *Ad Hoc* Commission, and to use the influence which this world assembly possesses to obtain the cooperation of those whose assistance is necessary for successful conclusion of the Commission's work. If we do less than this, we will be seriously shirking our responsibilities.

Mr. Chairman, here is a problem which for 8 years has been a deep cause of international friction. I have recited the record regretfully and only because it was essential to an understanding of the problem. But the failure of the Soviet Government to act in the past was the failure of another administration. Now we have a new administration of the Soviet Government. The Soviet delegation at this session of the General Assembly has spoken many times of the need to alleviate world tension. If the present leaders of the Soviet Union are sincere in their desire to alleviate world tension, this problem of World War II prisoners of war offers them one excellent opportunity to prove their sincerity.

My Government makes a special appeal to the Soviet Union, and to the others which have not yet given a full accounting of prisoners under their control, to reconsider their past decisions.

We ask them to abide by their international obligations and agreements on this subject and by normally accepted standards of conduct. We ask them to give their full cooperation to the Commission and to account for all World War II prisoners who have at any time been in their custody.

We ask them to provide complete information on the whereabouts or fate of these persons. We ask them to alleviate the mental anguish of bereaved relatives and end the awful uncertainty which exists as to the fate of their loved ones. We ask these things in the name of humanity.

This is a humanitarian problem. The proper solution of it is of tremendous importance to the

plain people of all nations. The statesmen and the politicians start wars. The people are forced to fight wars. We must not cause the people of the world to conclude that governments have no regard for human beings. We must not compel men in the armed forces of the world to conclude that the certain fate of a prisoner of war is to labor as a slave and to suffer and die as a prisoner.

MEASURES FOR THE PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF PRISONERS OF WAR

U.N. doc. A/Resolution/167
Dated Dec. 9, 1953

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

Recalling its resolution 427 (V) of 14 December 1950 on measures for the peaceful solution of the problem of prisoners of war,

Reaffirming its belief that all prisoners having originally come within the control of the Allied Powers as a consequence of the Second World War should either have been repatriated long since or have been otherwise accounted for as required both by recognized standards of international conduct and the Geneva Convention of 1949 for the treatment of prisoners of war, and by specific agreements between the Allied Powers,

Having examined the progress report to the Secretary-General on the work of the *Ad Hoc* Commission on Prisoners of War,

1. Notes with satisfaction that some progress has taken place in the repatriation of prisoners of war in the course of the last two years, and expresses the hope that those governments and Red Cross Societies which have contributed to that progress will continue their efforts;

2. Reiterates its grave and continuing concern at the evidence that large numbers of prisoners taken in the

course of the Second World War have not yet been repatriated or otherwise accounted for;

3. Urgently appeals to all governments and authorities which continue to hold prisoners of the Second World War to act in conformity with the recognized standards of international conduct and with the above-mentioned international agreements and the Geneva Convention of 1949 which require that, upon the cessation of active hostilities, all prisoners should, with the least possible delay, be given an unrestricted opportunity of repatriation;

4. Expresses its sincere appreciation to the *Ad Hoc* Commission on Prisoners of War for its efforts to assist in a solution of the problem of prisoners of war; and requests the Commission to continue its efforts to assist in a solution of the problem of prisoners of war under the terms of reference contained in General Assembly resolution 427 (V) of 14 December 1950;

5. Notes with satisfaction that a large amount of valuable information was made available to the *Ad Hoc* Commission concerning prisoners of war; but notes with concern that certain governments and authorities mentioned in the report of the Commission have so far refused to co-operate with the Commission, which refusal represents the main obstacle through which the best efforts of the Commission have been frustrated;

6. Urgently appeals to all governments and authorities which have not already done so to give their full co-operation to the *Ad Hoc* Commission to supply the information requested by it on all prisoners of the Second World War who are still under their control and on such prisoners who have died while under their control; and to grant the Commission access to areas in which such prisoners are detained;

7. Requests the Secretary-General to continue to furnish the *Ad Hoc* Commission with the staff and facilities necessary for the effective accomplishment of its task;

8. Requests the *Ad Hoc* Commission to report as soon as practicable the results of its further work and possible suggestions to the Secretary-General for transmission to the Members of the United Nations.

Korean Reconstruction—A Challenge to the Free World

Statement by Henry Ford II

U.S. Representative to the General Assembly¹

U.S. delegation press release dated December 2

The cease-fire in Korea has presented a new challenge to the free world. It offers a new opportunity to members of the United Nations to demonstrate by deeds, as well as words, their belief in the fundamental concept of this organization—cooperative action.

The United Nations is pledged to assist the Republic of Korea in the reconstruction of its war-shattered economy. That pledge has been given and reaffirmed in resolution after resolution

adopted by the United Nations since June 25, 1950. There are specific pledges of aid on the part of the majority of the members of the United Nations.

Now is the time to fulfill these pledges.

The Republic of Korea needs our assistance. Delay is dangerous. In 1950 the members of the United Nations promptly recognized the danger and united to stay the aggressor. In 1953 it is imperative that the members of the United Nations be equally alert to the challenge of reconstruction.

In his latest report² the Agent General of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency says:

¹ U.N. doc. A/2543.

¹ Made on Dec. 2 in Committee II (Economic and Financial).

The cease-fire has opened a new phase in the efforts of the United Nations and the Government of Korea to rehabilitate the Korean economy.

My Government, Mr. Chairman, has followed this phase closely. The progress made, in light of conditions, is impressive. For this reason the cosponsors of the resolution*—Argentina, Canada, France, the Philippines, United Kingdom, and the United States—have made a point of commending the Agent General and his organization for their substantial accomplishments.

Above all we have been very happy to see established a coordinated program in which duplication of effort has been reduced to a minimum. Some duplication was, no doubt, unavoidable in the emergency program but we sympathize with the mayor of a Korean city who sighed, "I've been surveyed 28 times."

Under this new program, the Government of Korea, the Unified Command, and the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency, UNKRA, have determined the fields in which each will operate. Roughly, UNKRA has accepted responsibility for long-range projects—the development of power, mining and manufacture reconstruction, irrigation, flood control and land reclamation, foresteries, fisheries, housing, and education. In addition, UNKRA will cooperate with the Unified Command in health, sanitation, and welfare.

A civilian economic coordinator, C. Tyler Wood, has been appointed to the staff of the United Nations Commander in Chief to coordinate with UNKRA the programs which the United States Government is channeling through the Unified Command. These programs will be concerned largely with relief, rehabilitation, and the supply of materials essential to the rapid stabilization of the Korean economy.

The Government of Korea, of course, plays the paramount role in formulating and fulfilling the programs of relief and reconstruction.

Mr. Chairman, as my Government sees it this division of responsibility and effort makes sense. It is clear cut. Perhaps it will save our friend, the mayor to whom I referred, from further surveys.

The overall goal in Korea has been, of course, stated and restated, time and time again. It is the economic and political independence of Korea. Today we are thinking in terms of South Korea, the Republic of Korea. We are not forgetting, however, the aim of the United Nations that some day the entire peninsula will be reunited by peaceful means. That some day is not forgotten in these programs.

On the basis of the facts before us, we believe that in time the Republic of Korea can achieve economic stability. Let me review these facts briefly.

Korea's Resources

Before the aggression of 1950, the two-year-old Republic could boast, with truth, of industries, commerce, banks, communications, transport of a kind, plus many other attributes of a developed country. The development, to be sure, was uneven, but essential factors of a prosperous economy were there.

Korea's soil is rich in minerals. Her offshore waters teem with edible fish. Her agriculture, potentially, could feed her people.

Korea's richest resources, however, are her people. Throughout the bitter hardship and adversity of the past three years, the Korean people have borne themselves with courage and dignity.

To many here in this room, war is no stranger. Many of you, too, have seen your homelands overrun by warring armies. You have known, intimately, the suffering that follows in the wake of war. The Koreans have known that suffering, to a tragic extent.

In these past three years, out of a population of 20 million in the Republic of Korea one million have died. An estimated 10 million have been dispossessed or displaced. To tens of thousands a refugee settlement has become the normal circumstance of life. The very lives of millions of Korean citizens depend in whole or in part upon assistance from the rest of the world.

Uncounted thousands of South Koreans were herded north by the Red armies, either to serve in the Communist forces or to work in forced labor camps. They left dependent families, women, children, old people behind them.

To add to the problem, at least a million North Koreans have rejected Communist tyranny and have fled into South Korea.

Estimates of damage to property in the Republic of Korea range from 1 billion to 4 billion dollars. Industry, agriculture, transportation, communications, housing, education, everything has suffered drastically.

In the war the civilian population of South Korea was worthy of its fighting men. In ruined villages, towns, cities, on the farms, they worked with what they had. They kept the home fires burning, even when "home" was only a pile of rubble beside a ruined road.

With the cease-fire they accepted at once the new challenge. They buckled down to the job of rebuilding their war-shattered economy.

In the military phase of the aggression in Korea, Mr. Chairman, 16 United Nations members sent troops to fight with those of the Republic of Korea. Some 46 members have participated with military or relief contributions in this great international effort.

From the first the challenge of the aggression in Korea was recognized for what it was. It was a challenge to the basic concept of the United Na-

*U.N. doc. A/C.2/L.218.

tions, the concept of cooperative action in defense of peace and freedom.

The United Nations met that challenge on the battlefield. The aggressors were stopped.

Wartime Emergency Relief

From the beginning, too, the United Nations recognized that the challenge extended beyond the battlefield. To aid the Republic of Korea in handling the heavy burden of emergency relief, the Security Council in July 1950 set up an emergency relief program under the Unified Command.

That program, during the war days, prevented mass starvation and the spread of epidemic disease in Korea.

Mr. Chairman, when we think of conditions in Korea during the war this statement is tremendous. It is, nevertheless, true. There was hunger in Korea during the fighting, for malnutrition is often only a polite word for starvation. But there was no widespread famine. Disease did take lives, but there were no epidemics.

Emergency relief, war relief, in Korea was well handled. And it was a tremendous job. At the height of the first flood of refugees the organization in Pusan alone was handling 3,000 men, women, and children a day. The refugees were dusted off with DDT to destroy typhus-bearing lice. They were inoculated against typhoid and cholera. They were vaccinated against smallpox.

In a period of 27 months the United Nations doctors administered more than 80 million inoculations. Today most South Koreans carry "shots" cards similar to those issued United Nations military personnel. They are given "booster" shots as the need arises.

In that period 2½ million Korean civilians received treatment in hospitals, surgical units, and dispensaries.

These preventive measures were effective. Just to give one illustration, in 1951 there were 75,637 cases of typhoid reported. A year later the total had dropped to 3,392. And deaths from typhoid had been cut 97 percent. I think that a terrific record.

The destitute were supplied with three million blankets and nearly seven million tons of clothing.

Directly, or through the government, an estimated 27 thousand tons of rice and other food-stuff was distributed. To millions this aid meant the difference between life and death.

The expenditure for this program to September 1953 has been approximately \$384 million. Of this amount approximately \$366.5 million was contributed by the United States Government and \$17,389,000 by other United Nations governments. In addition 32 voluntary agencies, representing 15 countries, supplied \$35 million worth of relief and rehabilitation supplies.

The military personnel in these programs came

principally from the United States armed forces. Civilian personnel was recruited by the United Nations from 18 different countries, including the United States. These people have performed many heroic tasks in rebuilding sanitary systems, in preventing widespread disease, and above all in serving as an international symbol of inspiration and hope among the Koreans.

By these means, the Republic of Korea stayed alive. With the aid given by the United Nations, the spirit of the Korean people has survived the ordeal.

Today, however, these people face an uncertain future. That future depends upon their friends and allies.

To restore Korea to a point where she can sustain her own people, it is obvious that external assistance of substantial magnitude must be forthcoming. The country's productive capacity has been so damaged that it cannot produce sufficient quantities of goods and services to meet the minimum consumption needs of the Korean people, let alone the investment requirements for rebuilding the country.

The war damage, however, is not the only problem. There is more to it than that. For one thing, Korea lacks the trained, skilled personnel to operate its economy. Over a long period the development of their economy has been, as I have said, uneven. Adjustments must be made.

In the brief period following World War II before the aggression of 1950, the South Koreans struggled with the problem of achieving economic stability. Slowly but steadily they were making progress.

A Brilliant Historical Record

The Koreans, remember, could draw from strength that lay dormant, from their traditions and past. Historically their record is brilliant. Irrigation of rice lands on a large scale was practiced as early as 194 B.C. Korean astronomers in 650 A.D. built an observatory that was the wonder of the world. They were printing books from movable type 50 years before the Gutenberg Bible was published. In the early 14th century Korean scholars were turning out encyclopedias, histories, books of all kinds. In 1592, a century after Columbus discovered America, a Korean admiral built the world's first fleet of iron-clad war ships, with which he decisively defeated a threatened invasion. One of the first phonetic alphabets of the world was devised by a Korean king. By many scholars it is still considered the world's best.

It is useless to speculate as to what would have been done had the South Koreans been left in peace to work out their problems. The aggressors struck.

Today the miracle is that there is any kind of a state in Korea and that it still functions. That

miracle, however, happened. And it is our job to help the Koreans go on.

My Government feels that the programs outlined for us by the Agent General are sound.

UNKRA and the Unified Command have together already produced substantial accomplishments. There was, for example, in 1953 a 22-percent increase in production of the so-called summer grains, barley, rye, wheat. The rice crop, too, is good. The increase is largely the result of fertilizers and equipment imported by UNKRA.

The trend in industrial production, though less marked, is upward, due primarily to increased imports of raw materials and the rehabilitation of damaged facilities.

Improved fishing materials and supplies, brought in from outside, has resulted in a 6-percent increase in marine products.

Vital power production is up about 15 percent, and dependence upon emergency U.S. Army power barges has declined. Transportation remains a major bottleneck but there has been an increase in tonnage moved.

There has been a definite improvement in the country's financial condition. Inflation, always a problem under conditions now prevailing in Korea, is showing itself more manageable.

A beginning has been made in a program to train South Koreans in the skills so desperately lacking. A number of Korean students, for example, have arrived in the United States to take up scholarships awarded by UNKRA in programs of agriculture training. Two leading Korean nurses have recently completed a study of United States nursing practices. The training program in Korea is also well established. UNKRA is working on the ground in giving young Koreans the skills to play their part in their country's future.

These are only a few concrete examples of programs actually under way. Other activities are going ahead with results being manifest daily.

New problems continue to appear, however. Just last week a severe fire ravaged Pusan. All resources of the United Nations have been thrown into the job of rebuilding the devastated city. Gen. Maxwell Taylor has flown to Pusan and is aiding in organizing a relief program for the thousands of refugees again made homeless.

The people of Korea know that they need help. But, as a people who have given the fullest in the common struggle for freedom, they feel that they have a clear right to ask for that help.

My Government shares that belief. We believe it should be forthcoming in substantial magnitude and from as many United Nations countries as possible.

UNKRA's program for 1954 will cost \$85 million and that for 1955, \$110 million. The United States has undertaken to provide 65 percent of the target of \$250 million set for UNKRA's initial budget. Actually, to date, our contributions have been around 75 percent of the funds advanced.

Voluntary Aid to Korea

Statement by the President

White House press release dated December 11

Adding to the already overwhelming misery in Korea, the refugee-packed city of Pusan recently suffered the greatest fire in its history. More than five thousand homes were destroyed, leaving thousands of sparsely clad and malnourished refugees without shelter. In addition to the very great amount of voluntary work they are doing to help the people of the brave Republic of Korea, American and other United Nations troops are now doing everything possible within their resources to provide the emergency aid so desperately needed as a result of this disaster.

Today, as we approach the Christmas season, I call upon all Americans to give generously to support the work of such groups as the American-Korean Foundation, American Relief for Korea, CARE, Church World Service, war relief services of various religious welfare organizations, and the other of our fine voluntary groups who now face this additional challenge and responsibility. Such aid is particularly fitting during this Christmas period.

U.S. Proud of Contributions

The United States, let me say here, is proud of the contributions we have made to this program. We are proud of the aid we are giving in the programs of the Unified Command. This is an important part of our efforts to help other peoples build a better life. We expect to continue our aid in Korea. The rate at which our contributions in the joint program will actually be made available, of course, depends on the rate of payments of other countries. We are definitely committed to the concept of *cooperative* action.

Pledges made by United Nations members amount to \$207,600,000. Of this, to date, \$86,600,000 has been paid in. The United States has paid \$65,750,000.

We recognize that a number of United Nations countries have paid their pledges in full. It should be recalled, however, that the original target of \$250 million set by the Fifth General Assembly fell short by approximately \$43,000,000. Not only, then, is it essential that full pledges now be met, but the large deficiency in the original pledging plus the \$16 million required by the new program before us must be filled.

There can be no question about this. The reconstruction of the Republic of Korea is a demand upon the collective conscience of the free world.

The Korean peninsula, we must not forget, is not the only battleground of the present struggle of the free world for survival. Other small nations are menaced. They are watching what we do in Korea. The Republic of Korea has become a pilot project demonstrating what the United Nations does in assisting victims of aggression.

The United Nations, Mr. Chairman, has proven itself on the battlefield. But it is inherent in the United Nations concept that the battlefield is not, and must not be, the final testing ground of international cooperation.

After the cease-fire, President Eisenhower asked the United States Congress for \$200 million for aid in Korea.⁴ These funds were promptly made available for this great humanitarian undertaking. At that time he pointed out that Korea was an opportunity—

for the free peoples to give clear and tangible testimony to their awareness that true peace means more than the simple absence of war. It means moral and material health. It means political order and economic progress. It means the living hope, in the hearts of all people, that tomorrow can bring a more just, a more free, a more productive life than today.

The President said, and the American people share this conviction with him, that no people on earth today have proved more valiantly than the people of Korea their right to hold and cherish this hope. "Ours," he said, "is the task to help and nourish this hope—for the sake of one brave people, and for the sake of all peoples who wait and watch to see if free men can be as wise in the ways of peace as they have proved courageous in the ways of war."

In addition, the United States is currently providing \$58 million for the civilian emergency relief program in Korea under the Unified Command.

The UNKRA program is a going concern. It is operating. It must have the means to carry on. Without those means UNKRA cannot do the job entrusted to it.

The specialized agencies stand ready to help. Voluntary groups all over the world are prepared to do whatever is asked of them. Through those voluntary agencies individual citizens in every country of the world are being given an opportunity to help.

The resolution now before the Committee urges the nations to meet without delay pledges already made. It urges all United Nations members not yet contributors to join with us in assisting in the reconstruction of the Republic of Korea.

My Government is happy over the strength of the sponsorship of this resolution. We hope that it will receive widespread support in the Committee and in the General Assembly⁵ and that it will keynote new and substantial contributions.

It seems to me that all nations who recognized the responsibilities of collective action in 1950 have in this issue a similar and clear obligation to justify the courage and fortitude of the people of the Republic of Korea and to justify the faith of all peoples in the United Nations.

⁴ BULLETIN of Aug. 10, 1953, p. 193.

⁵ The vote in Committee II on Dec. 2 was 33-0-5; the plenary vote on Dec. 7 was 52-0-5.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION

U.N. doc. A/Resolution/169
Dated Dec. 9, 1953

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
Recalling General Assembly resolution 410 (V) of 1 December 1950,

Taking note of the report of the Agent General on the work of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency for the period 15 September 1952 to 30 September 1953,

Noting that the work undertaken by the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency is bringing substantial benefits to the distressed people of Korea,

Noting with satisfaction that the programmes of the Agency are implemented in close co-operation with the Government of the Republic of Korea and the United Nations Command and in consultation with the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea,

1. Commends the United Nations Agent General for Korean Reconstruction for his work;

2. Approves, subject to consultation between the Agent General and the Advisory Committee, the programmes for the periods 1 July 1953 to 1 July 1954 and 1 July 1954 to 1 July 1955 set forth in paragraphs 122, 123 and 124 of the Agent General's report to the General Assembly at its eighth session;

3. Notes with concern that sufficient funds are not available to implement such programmes, urges all governments to give immediate consideration to the prompt payment of pledges already made or to the making of contributions within their financial possibilities if they have not already taken such action; and recommends that specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations furnish all possible assistance to the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency;

4. Requests the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds, appointed pursuant to the General Assembly resolution of 5 October 1953, to undertake, in addition to already assigned tasks, negotiations with governments regarding their pledges to the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency.

Preparatory Work To Begin on Review of U.N. Charter

Statement by James F. Byrnes
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly¹

U.S. delegation press release dated November 27

Article 109 of the charter provides that 2 years from now, at the tenth regular session of the General Assembly, we will automatically have on our agenda a proposal to convene a general conference to review the United Nations Charter.

This year several delegations, with commendable foresight, proposed that the Assembly take some preparatory steps designed to facilitate the discharge of the responsibilities which the member nations have under article 109. The Assembly's legal committee has recommended that we ask the Secretariat to prepare certain studies on the history of the charter and on the practice of the United Nations organs in applying our basic constitutional instrument.

¹ Made in plenary session on Nov. 27.

These recommended steps are all procedural in character. They do not prejudge in any way the question of any possible changes that might be made in the charter through the amendment process. In fact, the recommended procedures are without prejudice to whatever decision the 1955 General Assembly may choose to make in regard to the calling of a review conference.

An impressively large number of delegations to this Assembly spoke in the Sixth Committee in the debate on the items of our agenda dealing with charter review. The great majority of them showed objectivity and openness of mind in reviewing the 8-year history of the United Nations and looking forward to the future. They showed keen awareness of the organization's problems and eagerness to bring all resources to bear in aid of solutions. They approached the question of charter review as an opportunity to see whether improvements are possible in the structure of world organization. They dealt with the items now before us as a means of considering and launching constructive procedural steps which would be of assistance to the General Assembly in 1955 and to a review conference thereafter.

It was with regret that we found representatives of the Soviet-bloc countries insistent upon making the charter review question at this Assembly merely another vehicle for their hostile propaganda against the United States. Their unprovoked attacks were ignored but it was disheartening that this small group showed only suspicion and hostility toward the honest efforts of others.

I should like to clarify one point that may be based on misunderstanding. The United States was accused by the Soviet representative of inconsistency between our announced position in favor of calling a review conference, and what *he said* was my statement in committee² that we do not know if review will prove desirable or feasible. The record will show that I said, "We do not know now if *revisions* of the charter will prove desirable or possible." In English "review" does not mean the same thing as "revision." To review is to study or examine something. It does not mean the same as to *change* it. Perhaps this was a problem of translation. I hope it was only that, and that the point is now cleared up.

In the Committee debate on the charter review items, representatives of the Soviet-bloc countries spoke of Cominform desires and actions to ease international tension. In the next breath, those same representatives characterized the charter review items on our agenda as a "cold-war propaganda maneuver."

It must have been amazing to the sponsors of these items and the proposals which were considered in the Legal Committee to hear themselves described as "tools" of another power being employed for its own imperialistic and aggressive

Text of Resolution on Charter Review¹

U.N. doc. A/Resolution/133
Dated Nov. 28, 1953

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

Having regard to the provisions of Article 109 of the Charter under which a proposal to hold a General Conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the Charter is to be placed on the agenda of the tenth annual session of the General Assembly if such a conference has not been held before that session,

Considering that the examination of such a proposal will require considerable preparation on the part of both the Secretary-General and Member States,

Considering that study of the legislative history of the Charter and of the practice followed by the various organs of the United Nations is one of the best methods of acquiring knowledge of the Charter and will greatly facilitate the General Assembly's consideration, at its tenth annual session, of the question of calling a General Conference,

Having regard to the memorandum by the Secretary-General (A/C.6/343),

Requests the Secretary-General to prepare, publish and circulate among the Member States during 1954, or shortly thereafter:

(a) A systematic compilation of the documents of the United Nations Conference on International Organization not yet published;

(b) A complete index of the documents of that Conference on the lines envisaged in part II and part III C of the memorandum by the Secretary-General;

(c) A repertory of the practice of United Nations organs appropriately indexed.

¹ Adopted by the General Assembly on Nov. 27 by a vote of 54-5 (Soviet bloc), with no abstentions.

purposes. Actually, what the Committee debate revealed through honest discussion was a variety of honestly held different and even conflicting opinions. My Government is disappointed by the continuing unfamiliarity of representatives from the Communist-dominated countries with such a phenomenon.

Now we heard also from the Soviet-bloc spokesmen that what is needed is not *amendment* of the charter, but scrupulous fulfillment of the obligations it imposes. What strides we would be making already if the whole membership of our organization including the Soviet bloc were following scrupulously the provisions of the charter!

We were told by the Soviet bloc that the charter principle of unanimity is being violated. In view of the record of more than half a hundred vetoes cast by the Soviet Union, one can only ask, who is out of step?

What bloc of countries was it that the General Assembly found guilty of illegal and aggressive intervention in Greece? What permanent member of the Security Council is it which has incapacitated the Security Council from discharging its

² BULLETIN of Nov. 9, 1953, p. 649.

primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and has required other United Nations members to look after that responsibility through action of the General Assembly and of regional organizations? What bloc of countries has flouted the Security Council resolutions of June 1950 dealing with the Communist aggression in Korea and the General Assembly resolutions designed to cope with the subsequent mass participation by Communist China in that aggression?

Everyone knows the answer to these questions and a number of others which inevitably come to our minds. Such questions as the roadblocks thrown up against disarmament, the overthrow of free government in Czechoslovakia, the violations of peace treaties, the sabotage of United Nations efforts in the economic and social fields and through the specialized agencies, the diabolical lies about germ warfare, and the barbaric treatment of prisoners of war. These go to make up part of the Soviet record since 1945.

We were given hope by Soviet Premier Malenkov's words last spring that a change might be in the making. The peoples of the world are anxious to see some sign of that change. The members of the Assembly know the many areas in which such a change could begin to be made manifest.

One small area in which we held hope was the area of technical and procedural approach to the question of review of the United Nations Charter. It is to be hoped that the Soviet leaders will study carefully our debates and reflect upon them thoughtfully.

In looking ahead to the question of charter review we cannot and do not expect miracles. We do not believe that changes in language alone will transform the behavior of nations. Peace depends not upon what is written in charters or treaties but upon what is in the minds and hearts of men.

We do not know now whether changes in the charter will be desirable or possible. But we do appeal to all governments to explore continuously and in the most thoughtful way the problems, the needs, and the potentialities of our monumental effort at international cooperation through the United Nations.

Assembly Votes To Recess

*Statement by Mrs. Frances P. Bolton
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly¹*

U. S. delegation press release dated December 8

The report [of Committee I] shows that 55 members voted in favor of the resolution proposed

¹ Made on Dec. 8 in plenary session.

by the distinguished representatives of Brazil and India.² It satisfactorily meets the requirements of the situation which confronts us.

Under this resolution, the president of the General Assembly, with the concurrence of the majority of member states, is requested to reconvene the Eighth Session if, in her opinion, developments in respect of the Korean question warrant such reconvening. She is also requested, again with the concurrence of member states, to reconvene the Eighth Session if one or more member states make a request to the president for such reconvening by reason of development in respect of the Korean question.

As Ambassador Lodge stated yesterday in the First Committee,³ although the negotiations in Korea have been and continue to be difficult, some progress has been made. There are signs of a narrowing of differences. The United States, representing the United Nations members, is straining every nerve to overcome all differences; and if the Communists show a reasonable spirit of accommodation, it is by no means beyond the realm of possibility that the discussions will come to a successful conclusion.

If, on the other hand, circumstances arise which make it desirable to reconvene this session, this can readily be accomplished under the resolution approved by the First Committee. Most states have permanent representatives in the Seat of the United Nations here in New York with whom the president can readily communicate and who can express the views of their governments on short notice.

We therefore give our strong support to the resolution approved by the Committee. We particularly rejoice in the high order of statesmanship exhibited in the Committee and in particular by the Brazilian and Indian delegates in achieving a constructive and at the same time virtually unanimous decision of the Committee.

The United States cannot support the Polish amendment⁴ which would place the reconvening of the session completely within the discretion of the president. In our view, the procedure that would result if this amendment were passed is not within the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations or in the rules of procedure which indicate that in decisions of importance the General Assembly should act through a majority vote. If we were to adopt the Polish amendment, we would also be departing from the satisfactory precedent set last year in connection with the reconvening of the Seventh Session on the problem of Korea. We shall, therefore, vote against the Polish amendment.

² U.N. Doc. A/C.1/L.99. The vote in Committee I (Political and Security) on Dec. 7 was 55-0-5 (Soviet bloc); the Dec. 8 plenary session adopted the resolution by an identical vote. The Assembly recessed on Dec. 9.

³ U.S. delegation press release 1858.

⁴ U.N. doc. A/L.173.

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A. FORTNIGHTLY
SUMMARY BASED
ON U.S. GOVERN-
MENT STATE-
MENTS, REPORTS,
AND DOCUMENTS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE **Foreign Policy BRIEFS**

TRADE

European Economic Survey

The twin themes of "trade, not aid" and "increasing private investment abroad" highlight the report of the Presidential Task Force headed by Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer which recently undertook an extensive economic survey of Western Europe.

The mission found "astounding recovery" in all of the countries assisted by U.S. aid programs. It added that Europe's permanent economic stability lies in expanding production and trade, not in continuing U.S. economic assistance. A number of recommendations for achieving this expansion are included in the survey. From the report:

It is clear that we are now at a point where our choices of public policy are at the point where the extraordinary effort that has, of course, not ended; but it is increasingly clear that attention must now be given to long-term economic policy planning.

Such long-term planning should be initiated from political, economic, and social standpoints. It will be included in our planning mission. It will be based on the need to maintain the welfare and good health of the communities of the free world. There is . . .

feel that this present situation is . . . encouraging. In Western Europe are not bases for or even encouraging any . . . we feel certain that these countries will enjoy increased prosperity.

Private Investment Aid

Extension of the Mutual Security Agency's "Contact Clearing House Service" has been announced as a further stimulus for private investment overseas. The service, which up to last month covered the Western Europe, now includes new programs in the Far East and the rest of the Four Point countries under the Department's Technical Cooperation Administration. Through this arrangement, the Agency noted:

Man's Office of Small Business makes contacts in foreign countries for American firms interested in foreign investment, equipment, services, and procurement.

Just before the end of 1952, a United States Government I contact or made by f potential to Australia's

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sight of the Ethiopian crown." (Through other Assembly action, Libya gained its independence, and Italian Somaliland became a

Satisfaction Expressed

Last month the United States saluted the unusual relationship between Eritrea and Ethiopia which was successfully concluded on September 11. Charles A. Sprague, U.S. Assembly's Political Committee that the people of Eritrea are represented in the United Nations through the Federal Ethiopian Government, adding:

The United Nations can just feel satisfaction at having provided a working solution to the Keitwan problem. It has assisted the partition of Eritrea, bringing the United Nations down from the precipice of another world war. The United Kingdom, the people of Eritrea, should make a significant contribution to the peace, security and stability of East Africa.

Admission Deadlock

The United States supported a five-nation Central American proposal approved last week by the General Assembly for ending the deadlock over admission of new members to the United Nations. The last admission—Indonesia—was 2 years ago.

Under the proposed plan, a 19-nation committee will study the question and report to the Secretary-General 2 months from now.

Under the study plan, which was adopted by the General Assembly, a committee which has been to 14 countries from admission for 6 months ranging up to 6 years: Italy, Jordan, Ireland, Portugal, and Ceylon, 3 times each; Austria and France, twice; and Japan, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, and the Republic of Korea, once.

Comments on the study plan, which was passed 48 to 5 (Soviet bloc) with 6 abstentions, Sen. Alexander Wiley, U.S. representative to the General Assembly, said:

What we need is a carefully balanced, objective examination of this problem. We need

Great Lakes Parasites

Negotiations with Canada are under way to eradicate the Great Lakes' fish parasites. Destruction of lake trout and other fish by the sea lamprey—a predatory, eel-like parasite that attaches itself like a leech and lives off its victim's blood—has made cooperative action imperative. Since 1949, some 5 million dollars worth of lake trout alone has been lost annually to this parasite. Committed the State Department.

The immediate problem is to bring about joint action by the United States and Canada to eradicate this pest. The Fish and Game Commission, cooperating with the Great Lakes States, has developed electrical and mechanical devices to combat the lamprey, but these must be installed on both United States and Canadian shores of the Lakes to be effective. In addition, an international arrangement will be required to coordinate the fishery research work in the Lakes which are now being undertaken by eight State Governmental and Province of Ontario, and the two National Governments.

Education for Free Men

The role of education in supporting an effective foreign policy in a free society was stretching last month by Edith Gandy, an alternate representative to the General Assembly. The work of educating America's youth, she stressed, is "crucial in the defense of freedom." American schools and local school boards are responsible for effective school-affairs education "in a society whose very survival depends on the way it deals with internal issues." And she added:

Education is at the center of the matter, for foreign policy for free men can only be effective if its root in the desires and aspirations of the American people. Foreign policy can only be effective if it comes from a people with a basic understanding of the facts of life.

Citizens must learn to vote intelligently and to serve themselves, through individual organizations, through organizations, through the media of mass communication in such a way as to have a constructive effect on policy.

In this way, as in the case of public opinion, a single and dangerous, just as is a nervous individual response to a real situation.

Education, at the heart of American society, freedom, and equality controlled by state authorities, can meet the challenge cannot be met by shying away from problems. Controversy is the nature

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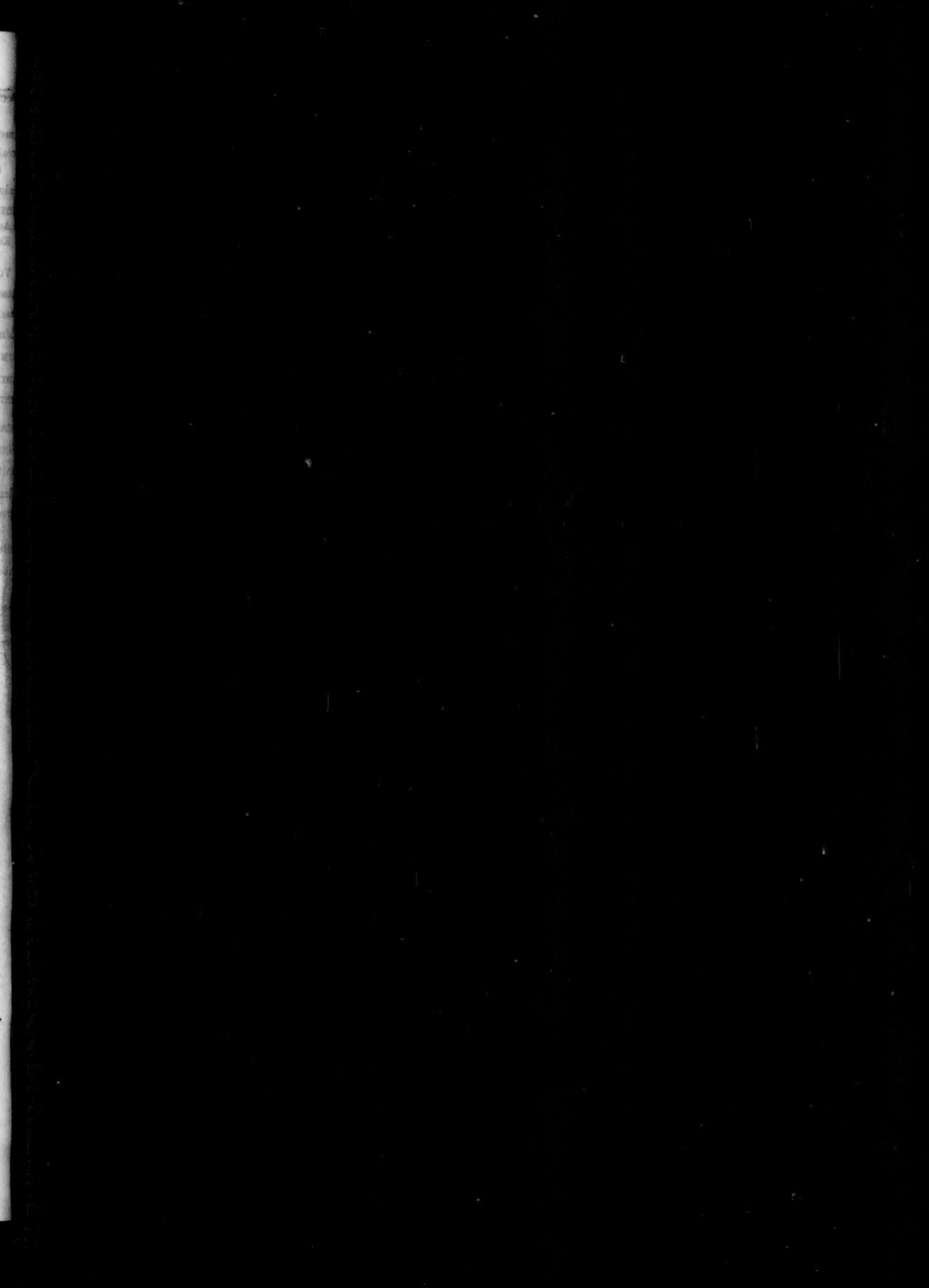
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Corrections in Volume XXIX

The Editor of the BULLETIN wishes to call attention to the following errors:

July 13: page 51, footnote 2, right-hand column, 64th report of U.N. Command operations in Korea, the date of transmittal should read:

June 18

October 12: page 481, left-hand column, 11th line, the German debt settlement, should read:

a half billion dollars of private debts. . .

November 23: page 730, left-hand column, first line of last paragraph of text should read:

It is with these thoughts and purposes that . . .

and the next-to-last line of footnote 2 should read:

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